

HIS
MAIESTIES
 DECLARATION
 to all His loving Subjects.

Of *August* 12.
 1642.



Caused to be
 Printed by His Maiesties Speciali
 command, at Cambridge.

Printed by *N. N.* An. Dom. 1642.

His MAJESTIES Declaration to all His loving Subjects concerning the proceedings of this present PARLIAMENT.

IS more than time now, after so many Injuries and indignities offered to Our Royall Person, so many Affronts and scornes put upon Our Kingly Office; so many scandalous, seditious, and traitorous Pamphlets against our Selfe and our Government; to vindicate Our Selfe from those wicked and damnable Combinations and Conspiracies which the implacable malice and insatiable ambition of some persons have contrived against Us, and to let all Our loving Subjects know how much they are concerned in Our sufferings, and how much their peace and security is shaken in the Assaults which are made, and the wounds which are given to our Honour and Authority; and (how specious soever their pretences are of Religion and Liberty) that in truth their end is nothing but Anarchy and Confusion in either: In the relation and consideration whereof (though We take no delight in the sharpnesse and bitterness of expressions) 'tis no wonder, if being compelled to take notice of Actions of an high and injurious nature, and to consider and Answer words impetuously directed against Majestie it Selfe, We be likewise enforced to use a dialect rougher and different from what We have used to Treat in ('tis a weapon We blush to finde Our Selfe put to exercise.) And We call the Almighty God to witnesse, that though We were extremely sensible of the violent and unjustifiable impositions upon Our Royall Office and Authority, of the apparent hazard and danger which threatned Our own Person and safety; yet not so much the particular consideration of Our Selfe, hath engaged Us in the resolution We have now taken, as the publike Care of the true Protestant Religion, the preservation of the Law, and the Liberty of the Subject, and the upholding the whole frame and constitution of this Kingdome, so admirably founded and continued by the blessing of God, and the wisdom of Our Ancestours, to the wonder and envying of all the neighbouring Kingdoms, which the faction and ambition of a few discontented spirits, with their counterfeit shews of Religion, and pretences of Liberty, endeavour to shake and rend asunder, and to bring Our Selfe, and all the Subjects of this Kingdome into perpetuall Subjection unto their vast, unlimited, arbitrary seditious jurisdiction. We shall begin Our discourse from the beginning of this Parliament: For of the unhappy dissolution of the last (by the misinformation and advice of some persons, looked upon now under another character) We shall forbear to speake; being resolved that no disregarded or undutifullnes of other men towards Us, shall ever prevaile with Us, to do what We thinke unsuitable to the Honour and Reputation of a just Prince, and of a good and a loving Master.

When We resolved to summon this Parliament, (which We did out of Our owne earnest and affectionate desire to beget a good and right intelligence between Us and Our People, and before the meeting of Our Great Councell at *York*, and uncompelled by any violence, but of Our love to Peace.) We presented to Our Selfe the unhappy condition wherein

wherein the State of this Kingdome then stood, considered the nature of the pressures (then more freely represented unto Us) which in themselves are grievous to Our good Subjects, and the consequences of them might appeare more terrible; Wee tooke a full and cleare prospect of the inconveniencies and mischiefs which had grown by the long intermission of Parliaments, and by departing too much from the known Rule of the Law, to an Arbitrary power, and upon the whole resolved (without putting any glosse upon Our owne former Commands, or endeavoring to make any excule for the Actions of Our Ministers) that the measure of Our justice and favour by way of reparation, should far exceed the proportion of the sufferings, Our good Subjects had undergone by Us; which We were confident would beget so mutuall an affection and confidence betweene Us, that such a foundation of firme and stable happinesse would immediately have beene laid for the whole Kingdome, that all memorie of former grievances would have beene easily buried, and that this Parliament should receive a glorious celebration both by King and People to the end of the world. And therefore upon the first Convention on the third of November, Wee declared Our resolution in that point, and then or soone after desired that whatsoever mistaking had giowne in the Governement either of Church or State, might be removed, and all things reduced to the order of the time (the memorie whereof is justly pretious to this Nation) of *Queen Elizabeth*; and for any exprettion of their affection to Us in supply of Our knowne necessities We were so farr from pressing, We resolved not to thinke of it till all Our good People should be abundantly satisfied in all necessarie provision for their Libertie and Propriety, and what ever else might disturbe them in their estates or consciences. How firmly We have kept Our Selfe to this Resolution is evident to all the world.

At the begining of the Parliament We quickly discerned by some circumstances of their proceedings, that they meant not to confine or contain themselves within the paths of their Predecessours; which Wee imputed to the disorder and impatience, the former sufferings of the Kingdome had begot in them, and therefore We resolved to take no exceptions to any particular, but to doe Our part in any point of Reformation, as soone and as often as any opportunity should bee offered unto Us, beleev- ing that as soone as they should finde themselves restored to their old security, and the matter and substance of their doubts and feares to be removed, they would easily and willingly reduce themselves into their good old way, and apply themselves to the usuall forme of their Predecessours in the course of their proceedings. And though We well knew the Combination entred into by severall persons for an alteration in the Governement of the Church which could not but have an Influence upon the civil Government of the State too, and observed that those men had greatest interest and power of perswading of both Houses who had entred into such Combination, yet Our Resolution was so full for the publick satisfaction of Our people, that We beleev- ed, even those men would either have beene converted in their Consciences, by the cleareness and justnesse of Our Actions, or would have appeared so unreasonable, or beene discovered to seditious that their malice and furie would not have beene able to have done mischiefe; and therefore We tooke no notice of the great labour and skill the prime Leaders amongst them had used to get men of their faction nominated and elected to serve as members of the House of Commons, and did use to remove others (whom they knew to be of different opinions) though they were fairely and legally elected; wherein there was no other measure or rule of Justice observed then singly with reference to the opinions or affections of the persons, witnesse (besides their put-

(4)

eing out or keeping in Men upon unquestionable Elections, without the least colour or shadow of Justice) their Order, whereby they at one clap expelled a very great number of persons fairly elected by their Countrey, upon pretence that they had some hand, or their names used in some Project, Monopoly or Patent, without charging them with any crime, or to this day proceeding against them; and yet they continue amongst them Sir *Henry Mildmay* Mr. *Lawrence Whitakers*, and others (whose affections and opinions they are well pleased with) though the first of them is notoriously knowne to be the chiefe Promoter of the buinesse of the gold and silver thred (a Commission complained of, viewed, and examined, and therefore his name might have beene easily taken notice of) and the other as conversant, and as much employed as a Commissioner in matters of that nature as any man. Wee speake not this to excuse Monopolies (the inconveniencies of which We are sensible of, and shall for the future prevent) but to shew that partiality of that Faction, and the use they make of them to their owne advantage.

The first remedy (after the impeaching severall persons of high Treason, whom they looked upon as the chiefe causes of the publike miseries) they proposed, was a Bill for the Trienniall Parliament, to the which, though Wee might justly have paused upon severall expressions and clauses in it, and might very well have insisted upon our old Priviledge and Custome not to passe any Bill till the end of the Session; yet since We really did believe most of the mischiefs then complained off, proceeded from the too long intermission of Parliaments, and were resolved for the future to communicate freely and frequently that way with Our Subjects, We passed over those exceptions, and consented to it, especially upon this confidence That when such other Acts should be agreed upon for the ease and security of Our People, as Wee desired and expected should be preferred to Us, this Act would be a sufficient earnest and assurance that all those Acts should be faithfully observed by Us, and so there should be no room left for any feare and jealousies which might prevent that mutuall Confidence between Us and Our People. We earnestly desired to raise: And for some time after the passing this Act, Wee found such an acknowledgement from both Houses of Our singular Grace and favour in consenting to it, and so great expressions of their affections and purposes towards Us, that Wee beleaved the sense of it would never have beene forgotten, and were as much pleased that We had taken that way of obliging Our People, as they were with the benefit of it selfe.

But We were very well able to discover that whatsoever seemed to be asked of Vs, or to be complained off to Vs, there was still a Faction of a few ambitious, discontented, and seditious persons, who under pretence of being enemies to Arbitrary power, &c. of compassion towards those who out of tendernesse of conscience could not submit to some things enjoyed or commended in the Government of the Church, had in truth a desire (and had entred into a Combination to that purpose) to alter the Government both of Church and State, which they were yet to disguise, till by their Art or Industry they had infected some with their opinions, and by their cunning demeanour and managery of the publike Interests, they had seduced others to an implicite Confidence in their power, wisdom and integrity: And against this designe We onely opposed a resolution to contribute all Our assistance for the peace, happinesse and security of Our People, and so to convince their Vnderstandings (if their error proceeded from weaknesse) that no alteration could produce that happinesse they imagined, and (if their natures were capable of such trusts) to take some of the chiefe of them so neare

Us, that they might be witnesses of Our Actions, and privy to Our counsels, that either Ingenuity or Gratitude might recover them from their desperate Inclinations: Herupon, because most of the grievances of our people were conceived to proceed from the great liberty of Our Councell board, or from some orders and directions from them, We admitted to Our Privy Councell seven or eight of those Lords, who were eminently in esteeme with Our People. for their reputation of Honour and justice. some of whom we knew to be most passionately disinclined to the present managery of Civill affairs, and to the Government of the Church, and hoped that by a free Communication of their doubts, Opinions and Counsels, they would have received that satisfaction, that they would have beene excellent Instruments of a blessed Reformation and Confirmation in Church and State.

Having begun with this foundation of confidence in our Court, by electing such persons, We made the same hast to apply particular remedies to the visible known diseases, resolving those remedies should be proportioned to the Councel and desires of both Houses; which We thought the surest way to win at least a major part to the confession and acknowledgment of Our justice and Affection.

The Starre-chamber had in the excess of jurisdiction or tediousnesse and charge of proceedings, or measure and severity of punishment invaded the Laws of the Land, and Liberty of the Subject, by the exercise of an Arbitrary power; We pressed not the reformation of this Court, though erected or settled by Act of Parliament in a wise time, but at the instance of both Houses consented to the abolition of it.

The High Commission Court had proceeded with too much strictnesse in many cases, where the tender consciences of many of Our weak Subjects were concerned, and had so farre outgrown the power of the Law, that it would not be limited and guided by it, but censured, fined and imprisoned Our People for matters unpunishable by the Law; We pressed not the review of that Statute by which that Court was erected, that such power might be qualified, and provisions altered, as had beene grievous to the Subject, nor desired that any other care might be taken for the upholding the Ecclesiasticall discipline, then what the wisdom and piety of both Houses shall thinke necessary; but, in compliance to the sufferings of Our People, and the desires of both Houses, consented to the repeale of that branch of that Statute.

The Writs for Ship-money, whereby severall summes of money had been received from Our good Subjects, for defence and safeguard of the Kingdome, had lain heavy upon Our People, yet were judged to be Legall: Both Our Houses of Parliament declared that the grounds and reasons of that judgement (being that when the good and safety of the Kingdome in generall is concerned, and that the whole Kingdome is in danger, We might compell Our Subjects to provide Ships, Men, and Victuals, for the defence and safeguard of the Kingdome, and that We were the sole Judge of that danger, and how the same might be prevented) were contrary to, and against the Lawes and Statutes of this Realme, the property and liberty of the Subject, and to the Petition of Right; without disputing Our Right, We were contented that all the proceedings in that businesse should be adjudged voyd, and disannulled; and the Judgements, Enrollments, and Entries thereupon, should be vacated and cancelled in such manner as was desired.

Under colour of executing the Forrest Lawes, and of keeping the Justice in Eyres &c, very many persons had been grieved and vexed by Presentments, Fines, Judge-

ments, and Imprisonments, the meets limits and bounds of Forrests extended, and some endeavours been made to set on foot Forrests, where in truth none had been: We no sooner received complaint of this, but We passed an Act for the certainty of the meets, limits and bounds of all the Forrests in England, with such further provisions for the ease of Our Subjects as were desired at Our hands.

If by the negligence or wilfulness of Persons trusted by Us, any grievance or inconvenience had been contracted in any part of Our Kingdome (which seemed not to have so generall an influence upon the whole) upon the first clear information We did Our part for the easing of them; and therefore We passed for the benefit of Our good Subjects of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, an Act against divers Incroachments and Oppressions in the Stannary Courts.

And We were so confident this way to win the hearts and affections of all Our good Subjects, and that both Our Houses of Parliament would at last finde a time to give too, that We made their Asking the onely Rule to Our Grants, and parted with any thing they desired Vs to relinquish; So in the Preamble to the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage, We parted with Our title of imposing a Power adjudged good, and exercised by Our Ancestours, and though disputed, never resolved against by Judgement in Parliament; So in the Act for Regulating the Office of Clerke of the Market, because of the undue execution thereof had been grievous to many of Our loving Subjects We consented that no Clerk of the Market of Our House shall hereafter execute his Office in any part of Our Kingdome, but onely within the verge of Our Court, and granted the execution of that Office to the Majors and Bayliffes of Towns Corporate, and to the Lords of Liberties and Franchises, and to Deputies; So, because about the beginning of Our Raigne severall Writs had issued out of Our Court of Chancery in the businesse of Knighthood, and been transmitted with their Returns into Our Court of Exchequer, where the proceedings were not fit and warrantable, We were contented by the Act for the prevention of vexatious proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood, absolutely to part with, and discharge a right and duty, as unquestionably due to Us by the Law, as any service We can challenge; So (which is the highest instance of trust that ever King gave his Subjects) upon Information that credit could not be obtained for so much money as was requisite for the reliefe of Our Army, and People in the Northerne parts, for preventing the imminent danger the Kingdome was in, and for supply of Our present and urgent occasions, for feare the Parliament might be dissolved before Justice should be done upon Delinquents, publique grievances be redressed, a firme Peace betweene the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland* concluded, and before provision should bee made for the repayment of such monyes as should be so raised (though Wee knew what power We parted from and trusted Our Houses with by so doing, and what might bee the Consequence of such a trust, if unfaithfully managed) We neglected all such suspicions, which all men now see deserved not to be slighted, and Wee willingly and immediately passed that Act for the Continuance of this Parliament, being relieved that it should not bee Our fault if all these particulars were not speedily provided for, which seemed then to bee the grounds of their desire.

Let all the World judge, what greater obligations of justice, favour, affection and trust can a Prince lay upon his Subjects, then We did upon both our Houses of

of Parliament by these Acts; and whether We did not in Our free Grace and Favour grant much more than had been asked of Us, by that Petition presented to Us by some Lords at *York*, in which was then thought to be contracted all that was grievous to Our people, and all that was just and gracious for Us to do for them.

And in all the time in which these Acts were framing and passing, though Our own Personall wants were notoriously known, and unkindly unprovided for, and themselves had asked leave to looke into, and settle Our Revenue, which We consented to; and therefore We might have expected some fruit of that pretended Care, We never pressed them or made the least overture to them for Our own supply, only desired them (and 'twas almost the only thing We did desire of them) that they would use all possible expedition in the businessse of the Treaty, that the two Armies might be speedily disbanded, and Our Subjects eased of that heavy burden which in time would grow insupportable, and waste the whole stocke of the Kingdome; But We found the Faction We feared in the beginning, grew still stronger, and nothing converted or reconciled by all those Acts of Ours, which would have made any Nation happy; that whilst We were busie in providing for the publick, they were contriving particular advantages of Offices and places for themselves, made use under hand of the former grievances of the Subject in things concerning Religion and Law, to change the Religion and Law of this Kingdom, labouring that neither any thing the Subject had suffered from the Crowne might be forgotten, nor any satisfaction from the Crowne to the Subject might be remembered: And therefore in stead of acknowledging Our great Justice, and singular favour in passing those Acts, they infused into Our people that We passed them unwillingly, (whereas We never made the least pause upon any of them but one, that for the High Commission Court, and whether that was penned with that warinesse and animadversion, that there be not more determined by it, than the major part of both Houses intended at the passing of it, let themselves judge) and that we meant not to observe them; and grew so much confounded with the full measure of Our favour, that they would allow themselves no security of enjoying what We had freely given, but by taking away any power from Us of giving more; They must have a thorough alteration both in Church and State, or else they should never enjoy the benefit of Reformation We had willingly made. Hereupon they oppose the disbanding of the Armies, and give all delayes to the Scots Treaty, though the Commissioners for that Nation very earnestly pressed the hastening of it, and in plaine English declare, *That they cannot yet spare them, that the sonnes of Zeruiah were too strong for them*; and finding more haste to be made in the asserting the Civill M. Strode. Interests than they desired, having a designe to ingage this Kingdome into so vast a debt, that there might be no way of paying it, but by the Lands of the Church; and lest Our good Subjects might be too soone satisfied, they hasten on to their designe upon the Church, which they at first disguised with a purpose only of removing the Bishops from their Votes in the Lords House.

This Bill passed the House of Commons, in the House of Peers it endured severall long, sice debates and in the end upon great and solemne deliberation, was by the consent of very much the major part of that House, absolutely rejected. This

was no sooner done, but that Faction (glad of the miscarriage of their former Bill) the passing whereof they knew would have satisfied many of those, whom they hoped now further to seduce produced a Bill to be rendred in the House of Commons for the abolishing of Bishops out of the Church of England, root and branch (according to their first resolution, as Master Pym told a Member of the Lords House by way of reproofe. *That it was not enough to be against the Persons of the Bishops, if he were not against the Function*) and for extirpation of all Deanes and Chapters, and reducing that admirable frame of government and support of learning into a Chaos of Confusion, that out of it they might make an Utopia, no six of them had, nor We beleevye yet hath agreed upon further than to destroy the presents, and out of the goodly Revenue which the pious bounty and devotion of former Ages had been so long in raising for the encouragement and advancement of Learning and Religion, and which God hath blessed with so many eminent men, whose learning and lives have advanced the Doctrine of the Protestant Religion, and many of them given their bodies to the fire, as a sacrifice to Truth and Religion, to erect Stipends to their owne Clergie, and to raise estates to their owne broken fortunes. And for the free passing of this Bill (which to this houre they could never tell what to make of) two Armies must be kept in the bowels of the Kingdome at fourscore thousand pounds a moneth charge to the Common-wealth; for about this Bill the House of Commons was so wholly taken up, that in ten weekes none or very little other businessse could be thought off.

About this time or litte before, after severall intimations of Treasons, Plots, and Conspiracies by the Papists, of great provisions of Arms by them, and training men under ground, and many other false reports, created, bred, and countenanced by themselves, upon some generall apprehensions of designs against them, a Protestation is made in the House of Commons for some union and consent amongst themselves to performe those duties, which if they had meant no more than they expressed) had been sufficiently provided for by the oathes they had already taken, and which their former duties obliged them to. Hereupon a Protestation is framed, and being put into such words, as no honest man could beleevye himselfe obliged by it to any unlawfull action, was voluntarily taken by all the Members of the House of Commons, and presently recommended to the House of Lords, where it received the same countenance; that is, was looked upon as containing nothing in it selfe unlawfull though some Members of that House refused to take it, being voluntary and not imposed by any lawfull Authority; then 'tis recommended to the Citty of London and over all the Kingdome, by Order from the House of Commons) a strict and unexcusable obligation to be taken by all Persons. But within very few dayes upon conference amongst themselves, and with those Clergie-men who daily solicited their unlawfull and unwarrantable designs with the people, they finde they were by this Protestation so farre from having drawne people into their Combination that almost all men conceived that they were even engaged by it against them in designe by promising to defend the true reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of Eng. And thereupon some persons of that faction prevailed, that after the members of the Houses had taken it, a Declara-
forth

forth by the House of Commons, that by those words, *The Doctrine of the Church of England*, was intended onely so farre as it was opposite to Popery and Popish Innovations, and that the words were not to be extended to the maintenance of the Discipline and Government, &c. And so under this explication and Declaration published onely by the House of Commons, and never assented to by the House of Peeres, this Protestation was directed to bee generally taken throughout *England*; and to that purpose a Bill is drawn, passed the House of Commons, and sent up to the Lords, who at the second reading, finding many particulars in it unfit to be so severely imposed upon the Subjects, absolutely rejected.

Vpon this ensued a new and unheard of distemper in the House of Commons, as if it had been great presumption in the House of Peeres to refuse any Bill sent from them, and thereupon a Vote passed in the House of Commons, *That the House did conceive that the Protestation made by them, is fit to be taken by every person that is well affected in Religion, and to the good of the Common-wealth, and therefore doth Declare that what person soever shall not take the Protestation is unfit to beare Office in the Church or Commonwealth*, and ordered that the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses should send downe to the severall places for which they serve, Copies of that Vote of the House concerning the Protestation, and that those Votes should bee printed.

Let all men judge, whether before that time from the beginning of Parliaments the House of Commons had ever presumed to trench so farre upon our priviledge, to make a Declaration so like Law without Vs; or upon the priviledge of the Lords, to make and publish such a Declaration after they had rejected the Bill, and some of them refused to take the Protestation; or upon the Liberty of the Subject, so farre to impose any such thing upon them, without consent of Parliament. Yet of this wee tooke no notice, but pressed still the disbanding of the Armies, and interposed and quickned them in nothing else; which was againe with all earnestnesse desired by the Scots at New-castle, and pressed by their Commissioners at London.

But a new fright was now found to startle the People, and to bring Vs into hatred or jealousie with them: The generall rumours of Treasons and Conspiracies began to lose credit with all men, who began to consider what they felt more than what others feared; and therefore they had now found out a Treason in deed, even ready to be put in execution upon the whole Kingdome, the representative body thereof, a Plot to bring up the whole armie out of the Northerne parts to London. A strange Plot indeed, which considering the constitution of that time, no man can believe Vs guilty of, and though they made great use of it to the filling the minds of Our People with feares and apprehensions, they seemed not then to charge Vs with any knowledge, or privy to it; what they have done since, all the world knowes, notwithstanding Our many Protections in that point. And we cannot but say, that by those Examinations of Colonell Goring, Sir Jacob Ashley, and Sir John Conyers, and M. Percier letter, which is all the Evidence We have seene, and by which they seeme principally to be guided, wee cannot satisfie our owne private Conscience, that there was ever a Resolution of bringing up the Armie to London, and upon the strictest examination We can make of that businesse, We can find it to be no other then this.

Observation being made of the great Tumults about Westminster, which seemed to threaten the safety of the Members of both Houses, at least of those who were

knowne not to agree with the designs of that Faction We have before spoken of, and the manner of delivering Petitions by multitudes of people attested (or pretended to be so) by the hands of many thousands against the knowne Lawes and established Government of the Kingdome, which yet seemed to receive some countenance, and to carry some authority, as instances of the affections of so many persons; it fell into the thoughts of some Officers of the Army of knowne and publick affections to their Country, that a Petition of a modest and a dutifull nature from the whole Army for the composing and settling all grievances in the Church and State by Law, might for the reason of it prevaile with the whole House, and coming from such a Body might confirme those, who might be shaken with any feares of power or force by the Tumults: And with this Proposition Wee being made acquainted, gave Our full approbation to it, taking great care that no circumstances in the framing it, or delivering it, might be any blemish to the matter of it.

This We call God to witnesse, as we have done before, was all We gave Our consent unto, or which we believe was ever intended to be put in practice (what attempts other men made to seduce the affections of the Army from Vs, is knowne to many.) If in the managery of this debate any rash discourses happened of bringing up the Army, it is evident whether they were proposed in earnest or no; they were never entertained and the whole matter laid aside above two moneths before any discovery, so that that danger was never prevented by the power and wisdom of Parliament: And for the Petition itselfe which hath been so often pressed against Vs, as a speciall Argument of Our Privie to the bringing up the Army, after We have so fully and particularly answered every particular circumstance of that Petition signed with C. R. We have herewith published a true Copie of that Petition, that all Our good Subjects may see how justly We have been traduced, and judge when Petitions of all natures were so frequently and so willingly received, whether such a Petition might not with modesty and duty enough have beene presented unto them: And if in truth that desire of bringing up the Army had been then believed, when it was first pretended to be discovered, which was about the middle of *May*, they would surely have thought it necessary to have disbanded that Army sooner then *August*, which no pressing of Ours, nor of Our *Scots* Subjects could perswade them to doe. And We are sure Our Innocence in this matter would soone have appeared, if the large time to bring this business to a Iudiciall triall had beene made use of; if contrary to all custome, it had not been thought fit to publish depositions before the parties concerned had been heard to make their defence, or witnesse cross-examined, though they attended above twelve moneths to doe it; and if some men had not believed that their general and violent expressions, affirming this to be a *Plot* equall to that of the Gunpowder treason, would sooner be believed, if it were not publicly discussed, but left to every mans fancy to heighten according to his owne inclinations; and had not feared that if the whole examinations taken (and not such onely as they pleased to select) had come to light, it would have appeared by the examination of *Master Goring*, (purposely suppressed) with what intention that mention of bringing up the Army was made, with what earnestnesse it was opposed, and with what suddenesse it was deserted; and many extenuations of, and many other contradictions to what is now published, would have appear'd, and this impossible stratagem, with which they have so much disturbed Our Subjects, and reproached Vs, could never have beene made so much use of.

After

After all this readinesse in Vs to doe whatsoever they desired of Vs, and patience in suffering them to doe whatever they pleased to Vs, Wee gave them warning that if there were any more good Bills, which they desired might passe for the benefit of Our Subjects, We wished they might be made ready against such a time, when Wee resolved according to Our promise to Our Scots Subjects (with which they were well acquainted) to repaire into Our Kingdome of *Scotland*, to settle the unhappy differences there. Upon this Wee were earnestly desired by both Our Houses of Parliament to deferre Our journey thither, as well upon pretence of the danger, if both Armies were not first disbanded, as that they had many good Lawes in readinesse for the settling the differences here. Wee were by their intreaty perswaded to deferre Our journey to a day agreed on by themselves, assuring Our Selfe that they would think themselves obliged against that time not only to disband our Armies, but so to prepare and digest the businesse of Parliament, that Wee might have made a Session before Our going: but that Malignant Faction was so prevalent, that the debate of the Bishops Bill tooke up most of their time, so that neither any care was taken for the disbanding the Army, nor any thing done that had any reference to the publick benefit; and when the time of Our stay was expired, and even the day come themselves had appointed, a new addresse was made to Vs for a longer stay of fourteene dayes, because the Treaty was not concluded, nor the Armies disbanded, which was the maine ground of deferring it before. This sute (which was the first Wee denied them) Wee could not grant, there being that necessity with reference to Our promise, and to the expectation of Our Subjects of *Scotland*, that it was not in Our power to satisfie them, as Wee informed both Houses Our selfe at a conference and according to that necessity Wee undertook that journey, not doubting but that when Wee should have dispatched the affaires of that Kingdom, which Wee hoped speedily to doe, and both Our Houses of Parliament should have refreshed themselves in the Visitation of those, for whom they had so well provided by Our favour, Wee should meet againe with mutual confidence one in another, and that it would bee Our turne then to receive such testimonies of that confidence and affection Wee had deserved.

But the mischievous and indefatigable Industry of that Malignant party, which had before Our going interrupted that correspondence, which Wee deserved from Our People, had with no less malice provided for Our reception at Our returne. In stead of reducing businesse to that heat, that the distractions of the Kingdome might be composed by the due observance and execution of the Lawes, Wee found things farre more out of order then Wee left them, and Our good Subjects more puzzled to know their duties: Orders had been made in the House of Commons, and published in derogation of the Booke of Common Prayer, and for suspension of those Lawes in force which concerned the government of the Church; and though another Order of the Lords was likewise published according to Law, for the due observation of the Lawes established, and for suppressing those disorders, which were every day breaking out by faction of mean loose persons, against the divine Service appointed by Law, the House of Commons tooke upon them publicly to declare against that Order, because it was only made with the consent of eleven Lords, and that nine other Lords did then dissent from it; whereas in truth the said Order was made in a full House in *January* before, and only ordered then by that difference of number to bee

printed, after the House of Commons had made (in a very thin House, and after it had been rejected by Vote) that illegall Order, for such Alteration in the Church; and if in truth it had been then made, and but by the ods of two voyces, being in pursuance of the Law, all men will thinke it of much more validity than any Order of the House of Commons against the Law, which in truth hath no Authority to make any Orders in businesse of that nature; and therefore the publishing that Order and Declaration of the ninth of *September*, must be confessed by all men, to be such a breach and violation of the Priviledge of the Peeres House (besides the affront offered to Vs, and injurie to Our good Subjects, and to the Law by it) that before this Parliament was never heard of, and was an apparent evidence that they meant the whole managery of the Kingdome, and the Legislative power should be undertaken by the House of Commons, without the consent either of Vs, or Our Nobility: yet the execution of this Order was with great diligence and animosity pressed upon Our good Subjects, and many troubled and imprisoned for not submitting thereunto.

When they had made this breach upon the Ecclesiasticall State, they tooke care (under pretence of encouragement of Preaching) to erect Lectures in severall Parishes, and to commend such Lecturers as best suited with their designs, men of no Learning, no Conscience, but furious promoters of the most dangerous Innovations which were ever introduced into any State, many of them having taken no Orders, yet recommended by Members of either House to Parishes, as to *Leusbam* in *Kent*, and many other places; and when Mechanick persons have been brought before them for preaching in Churches, and confessed the same, the power of these Grand Reformers hath beene so great, that they have beene dismissed without punishment, hardly with reprehension. All persons of learning, and eminency in Preaching, of sober and vertuous Conversations, and great Examples in their lives, even such as amongst these men had been of greatest estimation and suffered somewhat for them, were discountenanced, and such men principally cherished who boldly and seditiously preached against the Government of the Church, against the Book of Common Prayer, against Our Kingly Lawfull Power, and against Our Person, many of which were commended to (if not imposed upon) Parishes, first by speciall letters, and earnest solicitations from the prime Leaders of this turbulent Faction, after by Orders, requiring such Ministers as would not accept their recommendation to attend and shew cause; All licence was given to those lewd, seditious Pamphlets, which despised the Government both of Church and State which had any imputations or scornes upon Our Person or Office, and which filled the eares of all Our good Subjects with lies, and monstrous discourses, to make them beleeve all the ill of the Government, and Governours of Church and State; Bookes against the Book of Common-Prayer, and the established Lawes of the Land suffered without reprehension to bee dedicated to both Houses of Parliament, whatsoever the rancour and venome of any infamous person could digest, published without controul, and nothing discountenanced and repreched but a dutifull regard of Vs, and Our Honour, and a sober esteem and application to the Lawes of the Kingdome.

This was the condition wee found at our returne from Scotland, besides a strange groundlesse apprehension of danger infused generally into the minds of Our good Subjects, as if some notable designe were in hand against the Parliament, against the City of London, against the whole Kingdome of *England*. Then fell out an accident, whilst

we were in *Scotland*, concerning the Marquesses of *Hamilton* and *Argyle*: These two Lords, upon some information given to them, that their persons were in danger, upon a sudden withdrew themselves from the Parliament in *Scotland*, and for some few dayes removed out of *Edenborough*. What ever they had been informed, and whatever they suspected, and the grounds of both were fully examined by the Parliament there, their Persons being of that quality and estimation in that Kingdome that they were sure of Iustice: upon the whole, themselves and the Parliament were satisfied that the Information first given to them could not be made good to the proof of any deligne to the danger of those Lords, and the examinations of the whole matter sent by Our direction to Our Parliament here. How (if all had bin true that was imagined) this businesse could so highly and nearly concerne the Peace of this Kingdome, and the present safety of both Our Houses of Parliament, We cannot imagine; yet upon the first report of it here, (which was the day before the first meeting after the recess) without staying to heare the opinion of Our Parliament there, who used all diligence in the examination, or of Our Parliament here, such strange glosses and interpretations were made upon that accident (not without reflection upon Vs, and Our Honour) as if at the same time there had bene such a deligne to have been executed here, as they had fancied to themselves that to be, and a sudden resolution was taken, first by the Committee during the recess, after by the Houses to have a Guard for the defence of *London*, *Westminster*, and both Our Houses of Parliament, which must needs make a great impression in the minds of Our good Subjects, in a time when they were newly freed from the feares of two Armies, to be awaked with the apprehension of dangers, of which seeing no ground, they were to expect no end.

Matters being thus stated, and all possible skill being used by that Faction and their Emisaries of the *Clergy* (who at the same time such clamour was raised of the unlawfulness that the *Clergy* should meddle in temporall Affairs, were their chief Agents to derive their teditious directions to the People, and were all the week attending the doores of both Houses to be employed in their errants) to infuse the most desperate fears into the minds of all men that could be imagined, to be sure that the memory of former bitterness might not depart, they provide for our entertainment against wee should come to *London*, to present Vs with a *Remonstrance* (as they called it) of the State of the Kingdome; laying before Vs, & publishing to all the world, all the mistakes, and all the misfortunes which had happened from Our first coming to the *Crown*, & before to that houre, forgetting the blessed condition (notwithstanding the unhappy mixture) all Our Subjects had enjoyed in the benefit of Peace and Plenty under Vs, to the envie of Christendome; objecting to Vs the Actions of some, and the thoughts of others, and reproaching Vs with matters which indeed never entred into Our thoughts, nor to Our knowledge into the thoughts of any other; reviling Vs to the People, and complaining to Vs of the House of Peeres, (whose authority, interest and privilege, was then as much slighted & despised, as ours is since) & easily passing over those singular Acts of Our Grace passed by us this Parliament, or ascribing them to their owne wisdom in the procurement, they concluded against a Malignant party, and that they had no hope of settling the distractions of the Kingdome, for want of concurrence with the House of Peeres; and that concurrence was desperate by reason of the prevalency of the Bishops, and of the Recusant Lords, into which number all those Lords were cast who presumed to

diffent from any propositions made by the House of Commons. When this engin was prepared for the people by the prime Leaders of that desperate Faction, it was presented to the House of Commons, and the greatest industry and skill used that is imaginable, by private solicitations, threats and promises to procure consent that it might be passed by that House, and after a long debate (longer than ever was knowne in Parliament, till three of the clock in the morning, from ten the day before, when very many through wearines and weaknesse were forced to leave the House, so that it looked (as was well said) like the Verdict of a starved Jury) they carried it by 11 voyces, & shortly, within very few dayes after Our return (when We had been received with all possible expressions of joy by Our city of London, which was publickly murmured against, and the chief advancers of that duty and affection discountenanced, (as if they envied Vs the Loyalty of Our people) and when it was publickly said in the *House of Commons* upon some dispute of a pretended breach of the Orders of the House, *That their discipline ought to be severe, for the enemy was in view*, that Remonstrance was presented to Vs at Our Court at *Hampton Court*, by some Members of the *House of Commons*, with a Petition (contracting the sharp language in the *Remonstrance* into lesse room) amongst other things, That we would concurre with Our people for depriving the Bishops of their Votes in the *Parliament* (for which there was then no Bill passed both Houses) and to imploy such persons about Vs as Our *Parliament* might confide in. We received this strange *Petition* and stranger *Remonstrance* graciously from the hands of the presenters, promised them an Answer, and in the meane time desired that the *Remonstrance* might not be published to the people, the thing it selfe and the printing any thing of the like nature, being never heard of by the direction of the *House of Com.* till this *Parlia.* it being the first appeal to the people, and of a dangerous consequence to *Parli.* themselves: But (as in other things neither Our desires or Comandments have been considered) without giving Vs leisure to answer either the one or the other, speciall direction is given for the printing that *Remonstrance*, and equal care taken for the publishing it in all places and parts of the Kingdom.

Having taken this care for the shaking & perplexing the minds of all men, the next work was to get such a power into their hands as might govern and dispose of those affections. To this purpose they had from the beginning of the *Parliament* (by reason of some Complaints against the immoderate exercise of the Authority of the Lieutenants and their Deputies, in raising Coat and Conduct money and some excesses in them) severall debates in the diminution of the Office it selfe, but still grounded upon the illegall pressures used by them, and upon some words in the Commission it selfe, which (though of long usage in very happy dayes) were conceived not agreeable to the Law; but they were so far from supposing the Office it selfe or the Commission to be illegall, that both *Houses of Parliament* had recommended two Lords to Vs, and desired Our Commission to make them Lords Lieutenants of *YORKSHIRE* and *DORSETSHIRE*, the only end seeming then to be that good and approved men should bee in these employments and trusts: But at last they resolved against the Office it selfe, and would think of some other way to provide for the safety of the Kingdom in that point. And in this they had a double end. First, to fright all persons (Members of both Houses who had been Lieutenants, and Deputy Lieutenants) to comply with them in their Votes, lest they should be called in question for the

the execution of those Offices (a stratagem they had found to engage many persons to their opinions, as Sheriffs for the collecting Shipmoney, and all other persons, who in truth were or might be made obnoxious to their power) then, that by unsettling that whole business of the *Militia* throughout the Kingdom, they might the more easily bring in their own power of governing it as they have since endeavoured to do; and thereupon they presumed to bring in such a Bill into the *House of Com.* to place a General at Land, and an Admirall at Sea by Act of *Parliament*, with such Power and Authority over the lives and fortunes of all Our Subjects as should be lyable to no controul, nor to be questioned by any superintendent hand, with a prepardon for whatsoever they should do under colour of those Offices; either of which Officers should have been a much greater man than Our Self, and commanded in Our Kingdom above Vs. The matter of which Bill, to shew their designe, is since digested into their new Generals Commission, and the pretended Ordinance to the Earle of *Warwick*. And all this was then pretended to be a matter of absolute necessity for the preservation of Vs and Our Kingdom; but at that time it could procure no other credit than to be suffered to rest in the House, as an evidence of the liberty might be used in the preferring of Bills. They had by this time taken all the licence at their private Cabals to undervalue and vilifie Our Person and Our Power, and in publick to give way and Countenance to any scandals upon Vs: Letters from the Major of *Plimouth* that the Rebels in *Ireland* call themselves the *Queenes Army*, and pretend the Kings Authority for what they do; and store of such discourse upon such evidence is every week printed in the Journals of the House, which without doubt must be of great Authority with Our people, who must conceive such informations to be not only fully and clearly proved, but to be accepted and published upon very weighty reasons, above the consideration of Our Honour and safety.

And now they were to examine what notable credit their *Remonstrance*, and their other generall Infusions had got with the people, and how ready they would be upon occasions to venture themselves at their direction. They had made themselves so terrible in the *House of Commons*, that by their threats, and their promises of places and preferments to severall men, and by the absence of many, they had gotten the major part, but in the *House of the Lords* their power was not the same; that must be wrought another way; yet there they had used all means to prevail upon the hopes and feares of such who they thought might that way be dealt with, witness among many other things of the same nature, that insolent speech of M. *Pim* to the Earle of *Dover*, *That if he looked for any preferment, he must comply with them in their ways, and not hope to have it by serving Us.*

Shortly after their coming together upon the recess, a new Bill was preferred in the *House of Commons*, for the taking away the Votes of Bishops out of the *House of Peers*, which being once rejected before, ought not by the course and order of *Parliament* to have been admitted again the same Session: but that was easily overruled, and in the *House of Commons* it did passe; many good men the more willingly concurring therein, upon hope that that Bill being once consented to, the fury of that Faction, which with so great violence pursued an absolute destruction of the Ecclesiasticall Government, would be abated, or that the rage being discerned, they would lose that strength which supported them. But the Lords quickly found that the Ringleaders of that

that Faction had not ingenuity enough to be compounded with, and therefore with them it was not like to find so easie a passage. Now their resort was to the people, whom upon severall occasions they had trained down to *Westminster* in great multitudes with swords & clubs, & had often sent for them when any debate was like to be carried against them in either House, the particulars whereof We are ready to prove.

Every man will conceive, We were in a great strait to find Our Self so much disappointed of that return, the consciences of Our own merit, and the many glorious professions made by both Houses, bid Vs to expect. We saw the Laws absolutely trampled under feet, and a designe laid to ruin the Government of the Kingdom, and to destroy Vs and Our Posterity: We saw this designe carried by a few men, whose hatred and malice to Our Person, We found implacable, and their contempt of Vs and Our Authority so visible and notorious, that they forbore not to expresse it in their mention of Vs in all companies. We saw their Power and Interest to be so great, that they were able to mislead very many honest men, & to countenance their Actions under the name of both Houses of Parliament: We were resolved that nothing they should do within thole wals should provoke Vs, till time and the experience good men should have of them should discover their purposes; therefore We applied Our Self only to the Law, hoping that the insolence and licentiousness of the people might by Our help be curbed by that Rule. The tumults grew so notorious and so dangerous, that they threatened and assaulted the Members of both Houses, whereupon the Houle of Peers (which it seems the Lords present at the passing of one of their late Declarations, wherein they deny there having been any tumults, had forgot) at a conference with the *House of Commons* twice very earnestly desired that they would for the dignity of *Parliaments* joyn with them in a Declaration for the suppressing such tumults; but the prevalency of that Faction was so great that though complaint was made by Members in the *House of Commons*, that they had been assaulted and evill intreated by those people even at the doore of their Houle, in stead of joyning with the Lords for the suppressing or punishing them, severall speeches were made in justification of them, and commending their Affections, saying, *They must not discourage their friends this being a time they must make use of all their friends*. and M. Pim saying, *God forbid, that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way*: which he had good reason to say, himself and thole other persons whom we afterwards accused of High Treason, having by great solicitation and encouragement caused those multitudes to come down in that manner. The Lords having in vain tried this way, appoint (upon the advice of the judges) that a Writ be directed to the Sheriff and Iustices upon divers Statutes (which is accordingly) to suppress and hinder all tumultuous resort; in obedience to which the Iustices and other Ministers appoint the Constables to attend about *Westminster*, to hinder that unlawful conflux of people. This was no sooner done, but the Constables and Iustices of the Peace were sent for by the *House of Commons*, the setting such a watch voted to be a Breach of Priviledge, and before any conference with the Lords, by whose direction that Legall Writ issued out, the watch discharged, and one of the Iustices, for doing his duty according to that Writ, sent to the Tower.

About the same time there was a tumultuous assembly of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists* and other Sectaries called together by the sound of a Bell, into a place in *Southwarke* where the

the Arms and Magazine for that Borough were kept. the Constable knowing such meetings to be unlawfull, and the consequences of them (especially in such places) to be very dangerous came amongst them; he was no sooner come, but he was reproched with words, beaten and dragged in a very barbarous manner, inasmuch as he had hardly escaped from them with his life: complaint was made by him to the next Justices, and oath made of the truth of that complaint, whereupon a Writ was sent to the Sheriff to impanell a Jury according to the Law, for the examination and finding of this Riot. This was complained of too; and the meeting (in how tumultuous and disorderly a manner soever) pretended to be onely for the drawing of a Petition against Bishops and that the Constable was a friend to Bishops, and came to crosse them, and to hinder men from subscribing that Petition. Hereupon an Order was made in the House of Commons, and the Under-Sheriff of *Surrey* by it enjoyned, that he should not suffer any proceedings to be made upon any inquisition that might concern any persons who met together to subscribe a Petition to be preferred to that House. What authority the House of Commons had or have to send any such Injunctions, We cannot conceive; yet by this any disorderly persons (let their intentions and demeanours be never so seditious) are above the reach of the Law and Justice, if they please to say they meet to prepare any Petition to the House of Commons. And tis no wonder, if after all this care taken to remove all those obstacles the Law had put in the way to such Tumults, all people tooke upon them to visit Our Parliament in such manner as they thought fit, and thereupon great multitudes of mutinous people every day resorted to *Westminster*, threatned to pull down the lodgings where divers of the Bishops lay, assaulted some in their Coaches, chased others with Boats by water, laid violent hands on the Archbishop of *York* in his passing to the House, and had he not been rescued by force, it is probable they had murdered him; crying through the streets, *Westminster Hall*, and between the two Houses, *No Bishops, no Bishops, no Popish Lords*, and misused the severall Members of either House, who, they were informed, favoured not their desperate and seditious ends, proclaiming the names of severall of the Peers, as *evil and rotten hearted Lords*; attempting the defacing the Abby at *Westminster* with great violence, and in their return from thence made a stand before Our Gate at *Whitehall*, said, *they would have no more Porters Lodge, but would speak with the King when they pleased*, used such desperate rebellious discourse, that VVe had great reason to beleieve Our own Person, Our Royall Consort, and Our Children to be in evident danger of violence; and therefore were compelled at Our great Charge to entertain a Guard for securing Us from that danger: and yet all this danger is so slighted that VVe are told in the last Declaration, after VVe have so often urged it; *That it is a suggestion as false as the Father of lies can invent.*

These licentious and unpunished Tumults gave occasion to the Bishops (who could not repair to the House without danger of their lives) to make that their Protestation, for the which they were forthwith accused of High Treason by the House of Commons, and committed to the Tower by the House of Peers, where they continued for the space of four Months at the least. That small Guard we had taken for Our necessary safety and the resort of some Officers (who attended both Our Houses, of Parliament for money due to them by Act of Parliament and upon the publick faith) to Our Court for Our defence against those Tumults, was objected against Us, and divers counterfeit Letters

were written, and sencelesse fears infused into the Citizens of *London*, that We had a Designe of Actuall violence upon that Citie, and thereupon they were drawn into Arms, and put upon their Guard against Vs; so that there was not onely no provision made for the suppressing of Tumults, but that provision the Law had made against them discourte- nanced and taken away, and We Our Self censured for taking so much strength about Vs, as might for some time oppose such force as was like to be offered to our own Gates. What should We do? We very well knew the Contrivers of all these mischiefs, who had by their exceeding Industry and Malice wrought this distraction throughout the Kingdom, such a defection of Allegiance in the Common people; such a dampe of Trade in the Citie, and so horrid a Confusion in the Church, and all this to satisfie their own private ends and Ambition; for themselves know what overtures have been made by them, and with what importunity, for Offices and Preferments, what great services should have been done for Vs, and what other undertakings were (even to have saved the life of the Earl of *Strafford*) if We would confer such Offices upon them: We were sure We could make such particular proofs against them of a solemn Combination entred into by them for altering the Government of the Church and State; of their designing Offices to themselves and other men; of their soliciting and drawing down the Tumults to *Westminster*, and of their bidding the people in the height of their rage and fury to goe to *Whitehall*; of their scornfull and odious mention of Our Person, and their Designe of getting Our Sonne the Prince into their hands; of their treating with foreign Power to assist them, if they should fail in their enterprizes: Yet We saw too that their Interest and Reputation was so great with many of both Houses of Parliament, their Power so absolute with a multitude of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries about *London*, who were ready to appear in a body at their Command, that it would be a hard matter to proceed against them.

In this strait We resolved to do Our part in both, to give Our People a clear satisfaction of Our upright intentions to the publick, whereby they should find their happinesse did not at all depend on such Instruments; and to proceed against the Persons of the other in a Legall way, that all the world might see what Ambition, Malice, and Sedition had been hid under the vizard of Conscience and Religion. Hereupon We prepared an Answer to the Remonstrance the House of Commons had before published to the People of the State of the Kingdome, wherein without taking notice of the uncomely Language in, and the Circumstances of that Remonstrance, We declared with as gracious and full expressions as We could make, our earnest Resolutions for the maintenance of the true protestant Religion, the Liberty and property of the Subject, and the Law of the Land, and made no lesse gracious offers to consent to any Act that should be offered for the ease of tender Consciences in matters indifferent, and very earnestly desired that the same might be provided, and whatever else should be thought necessary for the peace and Security of Our people, and then that VVe might likewise manifest the Actions of that Malignant party, which had done so much mischief, and intended so much more, VVe resolved to accuse the Lord *Kimbolton*, Master *Hollis*, Master *Pim*, Master *Hampden* and Master *Strode* (who had so maliciously contrived the ruine of Our Self and the established Government of this Church and Kingdome) and Sir *Arthur Haslerigge* (who had been made their Instrument to obey and execute their bold and wild Designes of high Treason,

Treason, as VVe had great reason to do, hoping that the duty due to Us, and the obligations VVe had put upon our People this Parliament, would never suffer the Interest and Reputation of these men to be laid in the Scale and to overweigh Our Regall Authority, and the Law of the Land, but that we should have found a way open to a fair and legall Tryall of them, which was all VVe desired.

How Our proceedings was in that busines and Our managery of it, VVe have truly & at large set forth in Our Answer to the Declaration of both Houses of the 19. of *May*; That what VVe did first in acquainting the House of Commons with Our Accusation by Our Serjeant at Arms, was in correspondence and out of regard to that House, that VVe might rather have them delivered to the hands of Justice by them, then apprehend them by an ordinary Minister of Justice, which VVe were and are assured, what ever Doctrine is preached to the contrary, VVe might well have done in the Case of Treason, otherwise that Maxime in the Law, acknowledged in a Petition of both Houses to Vs in the beginning of Our Reigne in the case of the Earl of *Arundell*, That in case of Treason, Felony, breach of Peace, priviledge of Parliament doth not extend, is of no signification: The words are, *They finde it an undoubted Right and constant priviledge of Parliament, that no Member of Parliament (sitting in the Parliament or within the usuall times of Priviledge of Parliament) is to be imprisoned or restrained, without Sentence or Order of the House, unlesse it be for Treason, Felony, or for refusing to give Sureties for the Peace.* In those cases twas then thought a Member of either House was not to be distinguished from another Subject. And why VVe might not as well have expected that upon Our Articles (not so generall as a meer verball Accusation) of high Treason, either House would have committed their severall Members, as they had done so many this Parliament, and about that time twelve together (upon a confessed ground, which every man there who knew what Treason was knew that fact to be none) meerly because they were accused; and as the House of Peers had formerly done a Member of that House (the Earl of *Bristol*) accused in the same manner, most of the good Lords being then Judges, VVe neither could then, nor can yet understand: That our coming to the House was to prevent that shedding of blood which in all probability was like to follow that Order made the night before for resisting all such Officers who endeavoured (upon how legall warrant, soever) to arrest any Members of either House (an Order much more unjustifiable by any rule of Law and Justice, by which Orders or Acts are to be examined, then any thing VVe have done or any body by Our Authority) That Our purpose was no other but to acquaint that House with the matter of Our Accusation, to desire their perions might be secured, and without any thought of the lest violation of their priviledges. This is that which we did. Examine now their part, and their progresse since, and then judge whose priviledges have been invaded, and with how good a mind to the Common-wealth they have proceeded.

VVe were no sooner gone, but the House adjoynd it selfe with some usuall expressions of offence, and VVe were speedily informed that some reports and Scandals were raised against Vs in Our City of *London*, that VVe had offered violence to Our House of Commons, came thither with force to murder severall Members, and used threatening speeches there against Our Parliament and that this was but a preface to an attempt VVe meant to make against and upon the City. VVherupon VVe resolved the next day to go to

the Guild hall and to shew the great confidence Wee had in the Affections of Our said City (which We expected should have begot a proportionable confidence from them in Vs) We went attended with very few of Our owne Servants, and then in the pience of the Lord Major, the Aldermen, and a very great Assembly of the chiefe Citizens and others, We made them a full Narration of what Wee had done the day before, and assured them that We intended no proceedings, but such as were most agreeable to the Law of the Land, and the priviledge of Parliament. This Demeanour of Ours We thought would have given satisfaction to all our loving subjects, if that truth We had erred in the forme of our proceedings, yet Our intentions were full of Justice and regard to the generall Law of the Land, from which We shall never willingly swerve. But in stead of any applycation to interfere Our Judgement, wherein We had erred, and how We were to proceede, both Our Houses of Parliament under the Title of Committees adjourned themselves to the Guild-hall, and afterwards to Grocers-hall; the persons accused move themselves into the City, as to a Sanctuary, and there manage and contrive businesse to their owne ends: They cause Discourses to be published, and insuasions to bee made of incredible danger to the City and Kingdome by that Our coming to the House: an Alaram was given to the City in the dead time of the night, that Wee were coming with Horse and Foot thither, and thereupon the whole City put in Armes: And however the envy seemed to bee cast upon the Designes of the Papists, mention was onely made of Actions of Our owne. Their sedition is Preachers and Agents are by them and their speciall and particular directons sent into the severall Counties to insuse those feares and jealousies into the minds of Our good Subjects, with Petitions ready drawne by them for the people to signe, which were yet many times by them changed three or foure times before the delivery upon accidents and occurrences of either or both Houses. And when many of Our poore deceived People of Our severall Counties have come to Our City of *London* with a Petition to framed, altered, and signed as aforesaid, that Petition hath beene suppressed, and a new one ready drawne hath beene put into their hands, after their coming to Towne, (inasmuch as few of the company have knowne what they petitioned for) and hath beene by them presented to one or both Our Houses of Parliament, as that of *Bedfordshire* and *Buckinghamshire* witnesseth those Petitions: and amongst the rest that of *Hartfordshire*, which tooke notice of matters agreed on, or dissented from the night before the delivery, which was hardly time enough to get so many thousand hands, and to travell to *London* in that Errand. The accused Members, to shew how much they were above Vs, and the reach of the Law, march with a Guard of Armed men to the place where the Committee sate, sit with them, and governe those Counsellors. First they procure a Declaration to be set forth and printed from the Committee (without being reported to the House, contrary to all Customes and Priviledge of Parliament, and against the Law it selfe) with very strange expressions of Our carriage, and upon the matter requiring all people to assist them. This they cause to be sent into the City to the Common Councell, which by the undue practices of Captaine *Venne*, &c. Mr. *Fulkes*, since made Aldermen for his good service, (their principall Agents) they had caused to be altered by putting out the gravest and most substantiall Citizens, and taking in persons of desperate fortunes and opinions who they knew would concurre with them in their more desperate Actions: (the same Designe and the same way persued to make the City of *London* at their disposall, as had beene practised in the House of

Commons

Commons to worke upon the whole Kingdome) and with this Common councell correspondence is kept for the setting of unusuall Watches, placing of Guards in severall places of the City, as if some desperate attempt and assault were to be made upon the whole City by Vs, who were known scarce to have a Guard strong enough to preserve Our owne House from violence. A Commander is appointed under the title of Serjant Major General; and as if all men were now by their new Protestation made Judges of the Priviledges of Parliament, and the breaches thereof, and absolved from all rules of Obedience, special provision is made, and publick direction is given for drawing downe the Train-bands of Our City of London and Westminster on a day appointed to guard, and bring in Triumph the persons accused of high Treason, as such worthy Patriots that the Common-wealth it selfe could not subsist, but with conference to them; who in their Discourses, and by their Messages to their confederates expressed the greatest scorn of, and the most treasonable reproches against Us; that can be imagined.

When we understood this horrid preparation made against Vs, the Power it was evident these Persons had to do hurt, and the malice we knew they bore against Our Person (which Wee had too great reason to feare they intended to seile) Wee resolved to yeild for the present to this Storme, and so the day before their coming to *Westminster*, Wee withdrew Our Person, with Our Royall Consort, and Our Children to Our House at *Hampden Court*, and the rather left the Courage and Indignation of some of Our good Subjects might (how weakly soever, yet with the effusion of blood) have opposed that great scorne intended Vs; and beleiving that possibly by Our removing with all such Persons whose presence was excepted against, and discharging that small Guard which the Tumults had forced Vs to take for Our safety, and which was urged as an argument of danger, and ground of the generall feares, might at least lessen their appearance the next day: But these powerfull Persons would by no means conceal their triumph over Vs, but the next day are guarded from their Residence in the City with multitudes of armed men, and Ammunition, in a Hostile and Warlike manner to *Westminster*. The same care and industry was used to provoke and incense Our Mariners, Masters of Ships, and other Seamen, who were solicited by the Agents for the accused Persons, and by their speciall direction to expresse their affection likewise to the Cause in hand. And thereupon neare one hundred Lighters, and Long-boats were set out by water, laden with Sacres, murdering Pieces, and other Ammunition dressed up with Mastclothes, and Streamers, as ready for fight. And in this Array these men by water, and the Souldiers by land cryed out as they passed by, that they would thus protect and defend those Worthy Gentlemen, whom We had accused of High Treason, and as they passed by Our Windows at *White-Hall* scornfully asked *what was become of Vs, whither Wee were gone?* In this Equipage they came to both Houses, where tis no wonder they have beene since able to governe, having given such testimony of their power both by land and water. Let all the world judge by what law this Army was raised, and whether any Act of Ours against these Persons was as unwarrantable as these proceedings.

We bore all this, being so much amazed at these distractions that We could not easily find what colour the malice of these men had found out thus to outface Vs, not yet conceiving Wee had broke any Priviledge, or that the casual breaking of Priviledge could have produced such prodigious distempers: But we were no sooner

advertised where Our mistaking was, but without recrimination or complaining of the Injuries against Our Self, We sent to both Houses on the twelfth and fourteenth of *January* by Message, that in Our proceeding against those persons We had not the least intimation of violating their Priviledges, which We would be willing to assert by any reasonable way We should be advised; that We would wave Our former proceedings against them, and when the minds of men should be composed would proceed in an unquestionable way; in the mean time desired all jealousies might be laid aside, and application be made to the publick and pressing affairs, especially to those of *Ireland*, which cried for the utmost of Our assistance. But it concerned those persons by no means to suffer such a composition: If these fears and jealousies were not kept up, and inflamed in the People, and the distractions heightened, they knew they should not onely be disappointed of the Places, Offices, Honours, and Employments they had promised themselves, but be exposed to the justice of the Law and just hatred of all good men. Therefore the business of both Kingdomes was not considerable to the Interests of the six Members, who would be thought the Pillars both of Church & State. They had now found a danger nearer hand then *Ireland*, and an Army raised by Us in one night at *Kingstone* upon Thames: and upon some extravagant information pretended to be given to a Committee (though some of their pretended witnesses publickly in the House disavowed any such testimony) they procured an Order to be framed, and though before the publishing of it they had full and clear Evidence to the contrary by Persons come immediately from the place, and testifying it to be most quiet and peaceable they yet had power to procure that Order to be published on the thirteenth of *January* (the next day after they had received to gracious a Message from Us) declaring that the Lord *Digby* and Colonel *Lunsford* (the former of which was in the Town onely with a Coach and six horses the other onely attended by his Servant, and hath been since earnestly pressed by the Serjeant of the house of Commons (in whose custodie he was) to accuse the Lord *Digby*, with promises that thereby himself should be discharged) had gathered Troops of Horse, and appeared in a warlike manner at *Kingstone* upon Thames (being within a mile of Our Court) to the terrour and affrightment of Our good Subjects, and to the disturbance of the publike Weal of the Kingdom: And therefore it was ordered that the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace should, with the assistance of the Trained bands suppress such assemblies, &c. And this way they found out to draw that County to affront Us, and sent multitudes of mean People, under pretence of petitioning Vs, to shew Us how unsecure Our Residence was like to be there too, and so in a short time compelled Us, Our Royall Consort, and Our Children to remove to Our Castle at *Windser*. They proceed then by a close Committee (a thing scarce heard of till this Parliament, and of dangerous Consequence to the fame and reputation of all men) to examine such mean unknown persons as they had by threats and promises solicited to that purpose, concerning the Circumstances of Our coming to the House, exhibiting bold and malicious Interrogatories and Questions concerning Our Self and upon such wild Informations of desperate Persons, contrary to the known truth, and concealing other examinations which they had taken, and by which the contrary to what they would have the People beleieve would have appeared, particularly that very full examination of Captain *Ashley*, wherein Our publick and peremptory Commands against all manner of violence (though provoked) are sufficiently manifested; they procured an Infamous Declaration

clation to be published by the House of Commons (for the House of Peers could not be
 yet prevailed with to joyn in those extravagancies) on the 17. of *January*, mentioning Our
 coming to the House & some rude expressions of some Persons, who if there were any such
 persons there, We are most confident they were not of Our Train & would infer from some
 mens calling for the Word at Our coming out of the House (which is a form used in Our
 Court that those of Our Train who are before may know when & whither they are to go)
 that We had a purpose to have fallen upon the House of Commons, & to have cut all their
 throats, and do therefore Declare, That Our coming to the House was a trayterous de-
 signe against the King and Parliament; That Our Proclamation, issued out for the Ap-
 prehension of them, was false, scandalous, and illegall; That it was lawfull for all men to
 harbour them, and that whosoever did so should be under the Protection and Priviledge
 of Parliament, with many other expressions of, and aspersions upon Us, which they hoped
 would render Us odious to Our good Subjects, and force Us for Our Safety to submit to
 such unreasonable Propositions which amongst themselves they had provided to be offered
 to Us, or provoke us to such Actions as might give them some advantage. To keep the
 people in a continuall Alarm and apprehension of danger, few dayes passed without some
 pretended Discovery, by Sir *Walter Earl*, or other quick-sighted men, of some Treason
 or plot against the Parliament the Citie, or the Kingdome; and upon every light and im-
 possible information, many of Our Subjects sent for out of severall Counties, who after
 chargeable Attendance were dismissed without any reparation or reprehension. One day
 the Tower of *London* is in danger to be taken, and Information given that great multi-
 tudes, at least a hundred, had that day resorted to visit a Priest, then a prisoner there by Or-
 der of the Lords, and that at the time of the information above fifty or threescore were
 then there, and a VVarder dispatched of purpose to give that notice: upon enquiry, but
 four persons were then found to be there, and but eight all that day, who had visited that
 Priest. Another day a Taylor in a ditch, in the open fields, over-hears two passengers to
 plot the death of *M. Pym*, and of many other Members of both Houses. Then libellous
 Letters found in the streets without names (probably contrived by themselves, and by
 their power published, printed, and entred in their Journall) and intimations given of
 the Papiests training under ground, and of notable provision of Ammunition in Houses,
 where, upon examination, a single Sword, and a Bow and Arrows are found: A designe
 of the Inhabitants of *Covent garden* to murder the Citie of *London*; News from *France*,
Italie, *Spain*, and *Denmark*, of Armies ready to come for *England*, with infinite such ri-
 diculous Discourses, which are not onely suffered and directed to be printed, but such
 countenance and credit given to them, that thereupon Guards must be doubled, correspon-
 dencies and letters interrupted and broken open, even of and to forein Ministers of State,
 and Embassadors, to the scandall of the Nation, and against the Laws of Society and ci-
 vil Conversation; a Committee appointed for Information, where liberty hath been
 taken without any accusation or complaint extant, to examine the discourses passed at
 meals and entertainments, what words such a man spoke, and such other monstrous things,
 in a short time will render life it self unpleasant, and make every Room and every Ta-
 ble a bait to betray men, and to bring them to ruine and destruction; inasmuch as persons
 have been sent and imployed by Members of that Committee, on purpose to the tables
 of

of persons of Honour and Qualitie, to enquire, observe, and informe what language and freedome was there used, whilst these Worthy accused Members took the libertie to themselves in all their priuate meetings, and by their letters, to deprive and slander Our Person, to contrive the alteration of the Government of the Church and State, to treat with forein Power to assist them as soon as their Designs should be ripe, to labour by promises and threats to bring the severall Members of either House to their Opinion, and to raise scandalls upon, and to plot danger and ruine for those who were of another opinion.

And having now by these Acts disquieted and distracted the People abroad, and made them fit to receive any impressions from them, they proceeded to work upon the Members of both Houses with infinite Industry and Application, that they might be able to get the reputation of consent from them, to encourage and set the People a work, if Were refused to consent with them. They had removed as many Members from them of a contrary opinion as they could, and had used all means to get men who would be disposed by them into their rooms. If they found any such Lord, who had not a name in their List of the good Lords, were like to have any influence upon a place where an Election was to be, presently an Order was conceived and published that no Letters from any Noble man ought to be written in such cases, and if written to be neglected; but would by no means consent that this Order should conclude those of the House of Commons, lest *M. Pym*, or any of those blessed Members might not write in the behalf of the Commonwealth, for a Worthy Gentleman. If any Election were questioned, whereby they were like to lose a man at their disposall, such businesses and questions were of too private nature to interrupt their proceedings; so neither the Election of *Newcastle*, *Warwick*, *Windsor*, and very many other places, for whom Persons serve without and against the consent of the Burroughs for whom they have got themselves returned or admitted, can be heard or considered. If the Election of any such Persons hath been heard at the Committee, and they voted out of the house, as unduly chosen or returned, they will by no means suffer such a report to be made, lest a good Member should be lost, as in the case of *M. Nichols* (*M. Pims* Nephew) and others. Are they concerned in the contrary, and is any man returned & admitted whom they would be rid of, and against whom the last sentence is made? straight a day is appointed, no business so great as fit to be a cause to keep a Worthy Member from the service of his County; this is the case of *Andover* and other places. They rid themselves of those (how justly soever elected) whose opinions are unsuitable, nor their dispositions weak and guilty enough to be wrought upon: Their Conquest must be of those whom they could under any generall Vote conclude to be dangerous to the justice (and so to be within the mercy) of the Parliament; to this purpose their terrible Votes (which they keep as rods over them, having never proceeded against any) against all those Lords who had concurred in such an Order at the Council Table, or such a censure in the Starre chamber; against all Lords, Lieutenants and their Deputies, who had raised Coat and Conduitt money; against all Sheriffs, who had levied Shipmoney; against all Lords and others who had beene concerned or engaged in, or received any profit or commodity by any Monopoly, or any illegall

Patent : in a word, against all such who had medled in any thing which their Interpretation would call grievous to the Subject: brought all Persons of either House, who had guilt enough to doubt themselves, or want of Spirit enough to feare them, either to be absent, or silent, or to complie with them ; And if any man had the Courage to consider the single businesse jully, & by it self, they were straight making an Inquisition into his whole life, and preparing something against him, for matter of which their Favourites were equally guilty, and declared publicly, That whatsoever disservice any man had done formerly, if his present Actions were such as brought benefit to the Common-wealth, he ought not to be questioned for what was past, but cherished and protected. They had severall baits to catch and betray other men : Those who had been from the beginning deceived by them, and complied with them in their Passion, and been subtilly involved in some of their private Counsels, they perswaded that they were so far in, there was no retyring ; that We would never forget the disservice they had done Us, & therefore that there was no way to safety for themselves, but by weakning Us, and putting themselves into such a condition as it should not bein Our Power to suppress the: To those who had publick thoughts about them, and desired the establishment of right equally between Us and Our Subjects, and thought that right and favour they had obtained from Us this Parliament could never be enjoyed by them with that Lustre & Security, if the power from which they received it were oppressed, or readred of lesse veneration, they seemed abundantly satisfied with those Acts We had passed, that they had no further aim then to enjoy those, but that they had upon Our unwilling passing those Acts (which all the world knows to be an untruth most maliciously framed) great reason to fear We meant not to observe them, whē in truth We had by the Bill for the Trienniall Parliament put Our Self, and Our Posterity (which We were willing to do) out of any possibility of destroying or not observing those good Laws : To those who were desirous to give that satisfaction to weak Consciences, that they might be eased of unnecessary Ceremonies yet were scandalized at the profane & odious licence which the rabble of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries took to themselves of despising and reviling the Book of Common Prayer, of suffering Mechanick ignorant fellows to undertake publicly, even in Churches, to preach and expound the Scripture, they seemed no lesse to be disquieted at that disorder, but alludge that all reconciliation & union was to be embraced, and pursued against the common Enemy, the Papiist (from whom the danger was principally to be feared) and when a perfect victory was obtained against them, they should easily bring the other poore, harmlesse Creatures to conformity: Those who out of lazinesse, and vulgar spiritednesse were apt to complie with that Part, which was at last likely to prevail, they informed and assured confidently that they had those about Us, who would at last perswade Us to yeeld to all they demanded, and that all Places and Preferments should attend their directions, and be disposed by them, and that all such who opposed them, should be inevitably destroyed : Those who neither their skill nor importunity; their threats nor their promises could prevail with to comply in their bad wayes, they proscribed as a Malignant Party, and having cast all the aspersions upon them folly and madnesse could devise, exposed them to be torn in pieces by the People. And having thus disposed themselves, and perplexed the People, they proceeded to laying that foundation of Creatnesse and Power to themselves, they had from the beginning contrived, and as if all the Pillars, upon which the Peace, and Happinesse, and Being of this Kingdome was founded, were now shaken by the attempt against those six innocent Persons, and that all Our power was therefore to be transferred into other hands, they cause the matter of the bill formerly exhibited in *October* before, to be again revived ;

Sr. John
Byron.

and now all the Forts, and Castles of the Kingdoms, and the whole Militia must be put into such hands, as they might confide in. A Garrison must be put into our Towne of *Hull*, and Sir *John Hosham* appointed Governour of it, to whom the Major of *Tork* is ordered to dispose 2000. pounds out of the Polemoney; which was to pay the Arriers due to that Countie for Billet, and the great debt to Our Subjects of Scotland: And when the Major and prinisipall Aldermen of *Hull*, refuse to receive that Garrison, and urge the Petition of Right; that they may not be forced to billet those Souldiers. that are sent for to the House of Commons and there kept in a tedious and chargeable Attendance. till the Guarriten be taken in, being sent for to no other purpose. Our own Magazine must be managed and disposed by their discretion. The Towne of *London* must bee put into their hands, and a Person against whom malice it selfe could not finde the least accusation must be removed, for no other reason but because We had a good opinion of him.

They who are the strictest in the censure of Us, and of Our easinesse, will finde upon this State of things, that we had enough to doe, and that there was much difficulty to resolve. We wil never deny that our extreame tendernesse of the peace of the Kingdome, & Our great grieve of heart to see Our good Subjects milled in their duty and affection, begat more of Our Compassion and Pity then of Our Anger and Indignation; so that We were more awake to the sense of the calamity and misery which in all probability was like to befall them; then of Our own Honour and Dignity, and therefore without expressing the least resentment of all the scornes and injuries put upon Us, and to shew how much Our Soul was possessed with the care of Our People, We sent a Message to both Our Houses of Parliament from *Windsor*, on the 20. of January, desiring them, for the composing the miserable Distractions of the Kingdome, to enter speedily into a serious Consideration of all particulars, as well those as might concerne their Priviledges, their Liberty, and their property, the securing the true Religion and the settling of Ceremonies, as those of Our just Regall Authority and Revenue, that so both We and they might make cleere judgement of them, and we might make it appear how far we were from giving ground, for those Feares and Jealousies, by exceeding the examples of the most indulgent Princes in Our Acts of Grace and Favour to Our People. Nobody will blame Vs, if We expected at least such an answer as might bring Vs and Our Houses of Parliament to an issue, that we might temperately debate what was to be done: But they who well knew the nature of their own Demands, and what they meant to insist upon, would by no means that things should be brought into so little room, or discover the particulars of their desires, till they saw what strength they were like to have to second those desires: Therefore a new Adjournment is made to *Grocers Hall*, to consult of evils and remedies, severall Petitions framed and contrived by these Persons themselves are sent into the severall Counties, and Multitudes of People resort every day to both Houses with Petitions, avowing the Neares and jealousies these men had infused into them, and desiring to have the Kingdome set into a posture of Defence, and declaring their stout Resolutions to maintain the priviledge of Parliament.

In this triumph: they vouchsafe to petition Us to proceed against the Members accused, or else that they may be publickly quit. We were resolved to give them no more advantage upon breach of priviledge, and therefore desired to be informed which way We were to proceed, and whether We might prefer indictments against them at the Common Law: We were answered, That no proceeding should be against them without consent of that House of which they were Members, and therefore We were desired within 3. dayes to inform both Houses what proof We had against them, or else they should be cleared; & they

they had before caused their false, scandalous Declaration of the fourteenth of *January*, of Our comming to the House, to be new printed, together with the Protestation, and to be sent over the whole Kingdome by the Knights and burgeses, as if by the one they were obliged to defend the other. In this Case no man will believe We had reason to bring in Our proofs against these men, and to publish Our Evidence, when we were told, *It was in the power of the Major part to chuse whether they should be tryed or no*; and We might easily see, and all the world will judge by the proceedings then, and their publique expressions, since, whether if We had proved a conspiracy amongst them to have taken away Our life; they would not have found some distinction between our Person and our Office, which should have preserved these persons from the hand and course of Iustice. And to what other end should that doctrine be published with so much passion, *That in Case of Treason We might not proceed against any Member but by consent of the House*, (so contrary to Custome, Law, and Reason) but to let all men know it should not be in Our power to question them for any thing they doe against Us, let the Law be never so clear in that point Upon all these considerations, rather then to waste time in the dispute, when they are resolved to be their owne Judges too, We sent them word by Our Answer to their Petition of the second of *February*, That We found We had good cause to disert any prosecution of those members, and further offered to grant such a free and generall pardon to all Our loving Subjects, as should be thought fit by the advice of both Houses, which We thought to be the best way to compose all Fears and Jealousies of what kind soever. But the buisnesse of these men could not be done that way; a generall Pardon would never have settled the *Militia*, and dispossest us of those Rights and that Power, without which they could not compusse their Designes. They now resort to their old refuge, the common people of the Citie and Suburbs, and whatever they desired, these men must aske for the satisfaction of the Feares and Jealousies of the City. The City had been desired to lend a hundred thousand pounds for the reliefe of *Ireland*; and their Answer is drawn up to their hands of their inability to lend, and such reasons given as might advance what had been upon generall discourses neglected. The 10000. men profered by the *Scots* for *Ireland* were not accepted; a Bill having been offered Us for pressing, and in it a clause (not necessary to the present, and therefore purposely as We conceive put in, in hope We would upon that refuse it) declaring Us to have no power to presse (a power constantly practised by Our Auncessors, and even in the blessed times of *Queen Elizabeth*) and Our pause upon it was urged as a Designe to lose that Kingdome, although We had offered to raise 10000. Volunteers for that purpose, if they would pay them; The not securing of the Cinque-Ports, though the custody of them was in a Noble Person, against whom the least exception could not be made, and the not settling the Kingdome in a posture of defence; The not removing *Sr. John Byron* from being Lieutenant of the Tower whereby through distrust they were forced to forbear the bringing in of Bullion to the mint (when 'tis notoriously knowne there was more Bullion brought in to Our Mint in the time that Gentleman was Lieutenant, then in the same quantity of time in any mans remembrance) The votes of the Bishops and the Popish Lords in the House of Peers, and all other things which were then in Designe, and had in vain been attempted by them by the refusal of the House of Peeres severall times to joyne with them, were now urged as principall reason by this Petition of *London*, why they could not lend 100000. li. to *Ireland* and were pressed by severall other Petitions contrived by them, and presented to both houses, or to the House of Com. And these Petitions are carried up to the Lords by *M. Pym*, who takes upon him to reproach them for not concurring with the House of Com. & immediately layes that scandal upon Us, That We had suffered many to passe by our own warrant, who

who were since Commanders in the head of the Rebels : a false and abominable scandal, raised by his own malice to draw Our good Subjects against Us, without the least colour or shadow of truth, as appears by those Answers they have published to Our exception in that point, wherein there is not the least evidence of any such Warrant granted by Us. Though M. *Pim* be so great a Person, that We can have no reparation against him for that Calumny, but had credit enough With the House of Commons to perswade thē to charge themselves unjustly to excuse him, and to take upon them that he had said nothing in that Speech but by their directions, all this had not that quick operation with the Lords, with whom (though they had committed 12. Bishops for Treason, a thing themselves blush at, and the Popish Lords had absented themselves) they could not prevail to joyn in matters so unreasonable in themselves, & dishonourable to Us; therefore the House of Commons by themselves petition Us, thank Us for the Message of the 20. of *Jan.* though they have since declared it to be a breach of Priviledg, resolving to take it into serious and speedy consideration, onely desire for their security, That We will put the Tower of *London* and all the Forts of the Kingdome, and the whole *Militia* into such hands as should be recommended unto Us by them, (for the House of Peers had refused to joyn with them, and so were upon the matter petitioned against, and left out in the power of recommendation) Sure this was the strangest Petition that till that time had ever bin presented by the House of Commons to their King, yet Wee returned a gracious Answer, That if any particular should be presented to Us, whereby it might appeare that the Lieutenant of the Tower was unfit for the trust We had committed to him, We would immediately remove him; otherwise We were obliged in Honour and Justice not to put such a disgrace upon him. For the Forts and Castles, that We were resolved they should be alwayes in such hands, and onely in such as our Parliament should have cause to confide in; that We would have the Nomination of them Our Selfe, but that they should be alwayes left (if any thing were objected against them) to the Wisdome and Justice of the Parliament. For the *Militia*, that when some particular course should bee proposed to Us for the ordering of it, We should returne an answer agreeable to Honour and Justice, as appeares more at large in Our Answer of the 28 of *February* to that Petition.

This gave them no better satisfaction then the former : but finding that without the consent of the House of Peeres (of whom much the major part, though the popish Lords and the Bishops were absent, descended from them) and against Our consent, they were not like to prevaile over Our people, they resolve of another attempt upon them; their old friends the multitude must be again brought down by the great Conductor *Captaine Venne*, who is notoriously known; and proof thereof offered to be produced by *Master Kirton* to the House of Commons, to have severall times sent to and solicited people to come downe out of the City with swords and pistols when he hath told them, or sent them word by his Wife, That the worser party was like to have the better of the good Party; and for all which publique offer, neither was M. *Venne* then suffered to answer to this charge, nor *Kirton* allowed any time (though many dayes were set for bringing in the particulars and witnesses. Many persons are importuned to set their hands against the Lieutenant of the Tower, that they durst not bring in any Bullion to the Mint for want of confidence, when they never brought in any in their lives; and being asked how they could set their hands to such a Certificate (when it was knowne that never greater Quantity was brought in then at that time) answered that they were directed by Parliament men to do so, or else they could not compass their ends : and having gotten multitudes of people of severall Counties, or such as pretended to be so, to deliver Petitions

to both Houses, and to desire leave that they might protest against those Lords, who would not agree to the Votes of the House of Commons, as the Petitions of *Surrey* and *Harsfordshire* do; and perswaded others in the name of many thousandss of poore people in and about the City of *London*, to Petition against a malignant Faction, which made abortive all those good intentions, which tended to the Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdome, and to desire that those Noble Worthies of the House of Peeres, who concurred with them in their happy Votes, might bee earnestly desired to joyne with the house of Commens, and to fit and vote as one entire body, professing that unlesse some speedy remedy were taken for the removall of all such obstructions, as hindred the happy progresse of their great endeavours, the Petitioners should not rest in quietnesse, but should be enforced to lay hold on the next remedy which was at hand, to remove the disturbers of their Peace, and (want and necessity breaking the bounds of modesty) not to leave any means unassayed for their relief; adding, that the crye of the poore and needy was, That such persons who were the obstacles of their peace, and hinderers of the happy proceedings of this Parliament, might be forthwith publicly declared, whose removall they conceived would put a period to those Distractions, after it had been said in the House of Peers, *That whosoever would not consent to the Propositions made by the House of Commons, concerning the Forts, Castles, and the Militia* (when it was rejected by a Major part twice) *was an enemy to the Common-wealth*. This Petition was brought up to the House of Lords by the House of Commons, at a Conference, and after, the same day, *M. Hollis* (a person formerly accused by Us of High Treason, and a most malicious Promoter and Contriver of those Petitions & Tumults) pressed the Lords, at the Bar, to joyn with the House of Commons in their desire about the *Militia*, and further (with many other expressions of like nature) desired in words to this effect, *That (if that desire of the House of Commons were not assented to) those Lords, who were willing to concur would find some means to make themselves known, that it might be known who were against them, and they might make it known to them who sent them*. Upon which Petition, so strangely framed, counselled, and seconded, so great a number of the Lords departed, that the Vote passed (which they had so often before denied) in order to the Ordinance concerning the *Militia*, and since that time, they have beene able to carry any thing; and upon the manner, the resolution of the House of Commons hath beene wholly guided by those Persons who had given so plain Evidence that they had the Multitude at their Command, and hath wholly guided that of the House of Peeres, who with little debate or dispute, have for the most part submitted to whatsoever hath been brought to them. Shortly after they passed their Ordinance with such a Preamble, as highly concerned Us in Honour and Justice to protest against; wholly excluding Us (in whom that whole power absolutely was and is) from any power or authority in the *Militia*, the Arms and strength of the Kingdome; and that, for as long as they pleased: And as if the matter were not worth the considering, or that there ought to be no other measure to guide Us in point of judgement, or understanding, but their Votes, it was ill taken that we did not immediately return Our Answer, but tooke some time to consider it, and we were again with great passion and impatience pressed to give Our Answer, they being pleased to tell Us, *They could not but interpret the delay to be in a degree a denyall*; and in the meane time to give Us an instance how modestly they were like to use such power, when We should commit it to them, they presumed of themselves (knowing we had appointed Our Sonne the Prince to meete Us at *Greenwich* in Our returne from *Dover*) to inhibit his meeting Us there, and to endeavour to get him into their custody. All these things considered, and the Insolence, and Injustice of the Ordinance, We might very well have rejected that Proposition with a flat denyall, and

Just indignation; but we easily perceived that Our good People were misled by the Cunning and Malice of those *Bontefew*, and thought it alwayes a compliance worthy a Prince to take all possible paines to undeceive such who are led into mistakings, & therefore we returned to their Proposition for the Ordinance a gracious Answer and Animadversion, made it evident to them, that the Preamble was in it selfe untrue, and against Our Honour to consent to, and expressed Our cleare intention in Our going to Our House of Commons; We allowed all those Persons recommended to Us (except only in Corporations, to whom a Right was formerly granted by Charter, not consistent with this Ordinance) and offered to grant such Commissions to them, as had very long and happily been used in this Kingdome, and which we had this very Parliament granted to two Lords, at the instance and intreaty of both Houses. If that power should not be thought enough, We offered to grant any should be first yested in Us, and so We be enabled to grant; but desired that the whole might be digested into an Act of Parliament, whereby Our good Subjects might know, what they were to doe, and what they were to suffer, that there might bee the least latitude for the exercising of any Arbitrary Power over them; which Answer we desire all Our Subjects to read, and consider, whether we did not thereby grant all which themselves had first desired, and whether there was cause to Note such who advised that Answer to bee Enemies, to the State, and milchievous Projectours against the defence of the Kingdome. But as if all the Acts passed by Us, (amongst which that for the taking away the Votes of the Bishops out of the House of Peers was the last) were of no other value, but as instances that we would never deny them any thing, they immediately in great fury address themselves to Us with a new *Humble Petition* (as they called it, but was indeed a threatening) and told Us plainly, *That if We would not then (in that instant) give Our royall assent to their Ordinance, they were resolved to dispose of the Militia by the Authority of both Houses without Vs; advised Vs to stay about London, to put away evil Counsellours, and to let Our Sonne the Prince be and continue at S. James's, or some other of Our Houses neere about London, that the Jealousies and Feares of Our Peoples might be prevented.* We must appeale to all the world, whether considering what had been done in publick, and said in private, We had no cause of Jealousie, and whether having such evidence of the malice, guile and power of those accused Members, who had designed to have taken the Prince Our Sonne from Us by force, it was not high time to remove a little further from that Torrent, which might have overwhelmed Us, and made them as well, and by the same Rule, Masters of Our Person, as of Our *Militia*. This carried Us first from *Theobalds* to *Newmarket*; and who so ever reads the Declaration sent Us thither, the strange language given Us, and scandalis laid upon Us in that Declaration, will not wonder, that We made all the haste we could from thence to *Torke*.

What hath happened since Our coming hither, both in Words and Actions, is too notorious to all the Parts of Christendome, who, with wonder and delight, are amazed to see the Wisdom, Courage, Affection, and Loyalty of the English Nation appeare so farre shrunk and confounded by the Malice, Cunning and Industry of Persons, contemptible in number, inconsiderable in Fortune and Reputation, united onely by Guilt and Conspiracy against Us. A licence even to Treason is a limited (that is, not punished) in Pulpits, and Persons ignorant in Learning and Understanding, turbulent and seditious in disposition, scandalous in life, and unconformable in Opinions to the Laws of the Land, are by these men, their Reboumenation and Authority, imposed upon Parishes to take & payson the minds of Our People. Our Towns, Our Goods, Our Money are taken from Us, and to make the scorne compleat, care is taken to persuade Us that we are not injured, but that all is done for our good. Opinions and Rebouations are imputed upon Us by *Votes*, and *Declarations*, that *We intend to breake War, and then drawe stake up to destroy Vs;*

Rebellion; and Treasons contrived, fomented, and acted against Vs, and then reproches cast on Vs, and Warre raised against Vs, because We are dissatisfied. We send Our Command to our Keeper of Our Great Seal of England, to adjourn the Term from London to York, a thing as much in Our power, as in what roome of Our house We will lodge or ease; this is straight Voted to be illegal, and Our Keeper of Our Own Seal peremptorily forbid to do his duty, to seal a Writ or Proclamation to that purpose: And when in obedience to Our expresse Command he comes to wait on Vs, he is purged with a Warrant to all Mayors, Iustices of the Peace, Sheriffs, and other Officers to apprehend him. A Committee is sent downe into the Countreys near Vs to execute their pretended Ordinance, who compell Our Subjects to take Arms against Vs, and threaten and imprison such as refuse, without the least colour of Law; whilst such as execute Our Legall Commission of Array are sent for as delinquents, and declared to be enemies to the Kingdome, Our own moneys seized upon at London, and no supply suffered to be sent Vs; all persons are forbid to come to Vs, and charge given to all men neer the Northern Road, to stop all men and horses, who are for Our service coming to York, there being (as M. Hollis says in his Speech, of which he hath the sole printing, and hath granted that Monopoly to one Underhill) a mark set upon that place, and an opinion concernin those who shall resort thither: Our High-ways are shut up, and Our good Subjects are kindred in their journeys, & their goods seized and detained from them, because they have occasions to use them in the North: Our own household Servants refuse to attend Vs upon Our Summons, and then the putting them from their places is Voted an injury to the Parliament, and whosoever shall accept of those places, to offer in affront to the Parliament, and render themselves unworthy of any place of Honour or Trust in the Common-wealth: Sir John Hotham is commended and protected for keeping Vs out of Our Town of Hull by force and Armes; and Our raising a Guard for Our defence is voted levying War against Our Parliament; whilst he murders Our Subjects, takes them prisoners, burns their houses, drowns their land, robs all men he can lay hold of, and committeth all the insolent Acts of Hostility against Vs, & Our Subjects, which the most unequall and declared enemies practice in any Countrey. And when after all these outrages, Our miserable Subjects throw themselves at Our feet, crying for and challenging Our Protection, We must not perform that duty towards them, nor presume to say Sir Jo: Hotham is a Traitor, because he hath Priviledge of Parliament. Our Royall Navy, Our own Ships, are taken from Vs, the Earl of Warwick made Our Admirall in despite and scorn of Vs, who chafes Our Subjects, and makes War upon W, under the Authority of another pretended Ordinance; and his letter published by the direction of the House of Peers, to shew how easie it was to make an election rather to despise us, and the known unquestionable Law of the Land, then to neglect an Order of both Houses in a matter they have no more just power to meddle in, then they have to sell Our Houses, Parks, and Crown-land; and they may as lawfully send those ships to the Indies, and ordain that we shall never have more, as keep them in the Downs against Our will, and under a Command We do protest against to all the world. We are defamed and publickly reproched for want of zeal against the Rebels in Ireland, and when we offer to venture Our own Person, and our Crown-land for the relief of our miserable Subjects there, such a journey is voted to be against the Law, to be an encouragement to the Rebels, that whosoever shall assist Vs in it, shall be an enemy to the Commonwealth, and that the Sheriffs of Counties shall raise power to suppress any levies We shall make to that purpose. And after all this (when it hath been said by M. Martin, That Our Office is forfeitable, and that the happineffe of this Kingdome doth not depend upon Us, or any of the Regall branches of that Stock: and by Sir H. Ludlow, That we are not worthy to be King of England, and is declared, That we have no negative voice, which puts our Crown, the Law of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject into their hands) We are told by these devout Champions for Anarchy and Confusion, That We are fairly dealt with, that we are not deposed; That if they did that, therewould be neither want

of modesty or duty in them. They publish false, scandalous Declarations to corrupt Our good Subjects in their Loyalty and Affection to Us, injoyne them to be read, and disperse them with all care and industrie, and send for all Ministers, who according to Our Command publish Our Answers to undeceive Our people, as Delinquents, notwithstanding We have not prohibited any to read theirs: They commit the Lord Major of London, and other Majors, for publishing Our Proclamations according to Our Writ, and his Oath, and straitly charge all Our Ministers of Justice not to obey Us: They raise an Army against Us, and choose the Earle of *Essex* for their Generall, and grant him a power over Us, the Law, and all Our people, that he may kill and destroy whom he thinks fit, and impose an oath upon Our Subjects to execute all the Commands of both Houses: They waste and consume the money given by Act of Parliament for discharge of the great debt of the Kingdome, and for the reliefe of the bleeding Condition of *Ireland*; imploy the money brought in by the Adventurers, and those men who are levied by Our Authority and Commission for the preservation of Our miserable Subjects there, to serve them in a war against Us, whereby all men may see what reason We had, not to consent to a Warrant dormant under pretence of levies for *Ireland*, which might have furnished them with men to fight against Us, as the same pretence hath done with all the Armes We had in Our Magazines: They commit such of Our Subjects to Prison, whom they are pleased to suspect (as the Earle of *Portland*) and for no other reason but that they believe them Loyall to Us; Censure and Degrad nine Lords at a clap for obeying Our Summons, and coming to Us, when scarce that number concurred in the Judgement; and declare two others enemies to the Commonwealth, and take their Votes from them, without so much as summoning them to answer any Charge brought against them: They presume to take Tunnage and Poundage by a pretended Ordinance without Our consent, though they have so often pressed it against Us, that We tooke it without theirs, and so now dispence with a *Premunire* made this Parliament as they have formerly done with Treason. Lastly to shew into what hands they intend the Government of this Kingdome shall be put, they reduced the businesse of the whole Kingdome from both Houses of Parliament into the hands of a few desperate persons, who have the power committed to them to Act this Tragedy, without acquainting the Houses, and so have gotten the Authority of King and both Houses of Parliament to destroy all three; make Orders to breake up houses, take away Plate and Money, because 'tis possible the owners wish it with Us at Yorke; send Troops of horse to make Warre upon Us in what Counties they please, and commit such unheard of Acts of oppression, and injustice, as no story can parallell, where the least forme of government hath been left: that all Our good Subjects may see by what rules they shall live, and what right they are to enjoy, when these men have gotten the sway, who in the infancie of their power, and when there is yet left some memory of, and reverence to the Lawes under which their fathers lived so happily, dare leap over all those knowne and confessed Principles of Government and Obedience, and exercise a Tyranny both over Prince and People more insupportable then Confusion it selfe.

And for all this impudent injustice (odious to God & Man) what is objected against Us? that We will not be advised by Our Parl. In what? what one Proposition that is evidently for the ease of Our Subjects have We denied? that We have granted many is confessed. We will not consent that the Ordinance of the *Militia* shall be executed & obeyed; that is, We will allow that both Houses of Parl. shall make Laws, and impose upon the Property and Libertie of Our Subjects without Our consent (which if We should yeeld to, upon the same pretences of necessity, a word fatall to this Kingdome, and publick good, the House of Commons might as well, and would quickly make Laws without the House of Peers,

and

and the common people without either) nor are willing that those men, who have discovered all malice to Our Person, and disesteem and irreverence of Our Office, shall be legally qualified to take up Arms against Us, when they shall be thereunto provoked by their Malice or Ambition. There can be no new thing said in this Argument, We must refer Our good Subjects to Our severall Answers, Declarations and Proclamations in that point; onely it will be worth their considering, that this extraordinary, unheard of, extravagant power was assumed in case of peremptory necessity, for the prevention of imminent danger in the beginning of *March* (how long it was in designe before is understood by Sir *Arthur Haslerigge* his Bill long preceding) whether any such danger hath bin since discovered, and whether unspeakable calamities have not already, and are like to ensue from that fountain, We wish it were not too apparant. And if those fears and jealousies, which seem to make that Ordinance necessary, were indeed reall and honest, that in truth nothing were desired but putting the Kingdom into a posture, that is, that all Our loving Subjects might be provided with Arms, and dextrous in the using them, if any Invasion or Rebellion should be; is not all this care taken and all this security provided for by the Commission of *Array*? what honest end can that Ordinance have, which is not obtained by the execution of and obedience to that Commission? but 'tis true the power is not in those hands, nor like to be employed to those uses, it is now intended. Who hath not heard these men say, that the alteration they intend, and is necessary, both in Church and State, must be made by blood? are not the principles by which they live destructive to all Laws, and Compacts? is not every thing necessary they think so, and every thing lawfull that is in order to that necessity? sure if Our good Subjects were thoroughly awake in this businesse, they would thinke they had much more cause to thanke Us for denying this Ordinance, then for granting all that We have granted. What is there else? Wee do not think Sir *John Horham* hath dealt well with Us in keeping Our Town from Us, nor do take it kindly that Wee are robbed of Our Magazin and Munition, but think of recovering both by force, because Wee cannot have them otherwise, which will be an actual levying War against Our Parliament. This Argument is sufficiently vexed too: Our good Subjects will reade the Messages, Answers, Votes and Declarations in this case; and wee are sure upon the Grounds laid to justifie this Treason, no Subject in *England* hath a house of his owne, which may not to morrow be given to Sir *John Horham* for as long a term as they think fit; and he may be sent to morrow to murder Us, and be no Traitor, and they who shall shut the door against him shall be Delinquents. Is there no more? Yes; Wee will not submit to those nineteen dutifull and modest Propositions which have been lately thrown at Us, as the necessary means of removing jealousies and differences, and as the last complement of all their scorns and injurie, that Posterity may see to what a tameness We were brought when such things were asked of Us: Wee will not be content that all Our Officers and Ministers of State, be they never so faithfull to Us so affectionate to their Country, never so wise, never so honest, shall be immediately removed from Us and their Places, be disgraced and undone, and in their rooms, these Gentlemen (who have taken all possible pains to destroy King and People) or such whom they shall recommend, to succeed, that the same Faction may be carried through the whole Kingdom, which these men have raised in both Houses of Parliamen; that all Affaires of the Kingdom be managed not onely by their advice, but their absolute direction and command, lest any man should think himselfe Our Servant; that the Education and Mariage of our Children be committed to them, lest any Christian Prince should

make addresses to Us in such Treaties : In a word, that in gratitude to their modesty and duty for not deposing Us, We wil not now depose Our Self & suffer the People and Kingdom (which God, and the Law hath committed to Our government and protection, and for which We must make an account) to be devoured by them.

Sure these men think 'tis no affront to ask any thing : But can Our good Subjects be longer kept in this trance ? can the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Commonalty of *England* sacrifice their Honour, Interest, Religion, Liberty to terms and the meer sound of Parliament, and Privilege ? can their experience, reason, and understanding be captivated by words, and assumptions contradictory to all Principles ? What one thing have We denied, that with reference to the publick peace and happinesse was to be bought with the losse of the meanest Subject ? and yet into what a Sea of blood is the rage and fury of these men lanching out, to wrest that from Us, which We are bound (if we had a thousand lives to lose in the contention) to defend ? nay, what one thing is there that makes life precious to good men, which We do not defend, and these men oppose, and would evidently destroy ? What grievance or pressure have Our People complained of, and bin eased by Us, which is not now brought upon them in an unlimited degree ? Is the true Reformed Protestant Religion, sealed by the blood of so many Reverend Martyrs, and established by the wisdom and piety of former blessed Parliaments, dear to them ? Wee must appeal to all the World (being called upon by the reproaches of these men) whether Our own practice (the best evidence of Religion) and all the assistance and offers We can give, have bin wanting to the Advancement of that Religion : and what can be more done by Us to satisfie and secure Our people in that point ? On the other side, let all Our good Subjects consider and weigh what pregnant Arguments they have to fear Innovation in Religion, if these desperate persons prevaile ; when the principall men, to whose care and industry they have committed the managery of that part, refuse Communion with the Church of *England*, as much as the Papists do, and have not onely with that freedom they think fit to use, reproched the Book of Common Prayer, and the Government of the Church in their speeches, but have published those speeches in the view of all men in print, that the world might see by what measure and rule the Reformation they so much talk of is to be made ; when such Petitions have bin contrived by them, and accepted with publick thanks, which revile the Book of Common Prayer, calling it a *Masse-book*, in scorn and contempt of the Law, whilst other Petitions for the Government established by Law have bin rejected, discountenanced, and the Petitioners punished ; and when two Armies were kept in the Bowels of the Kingdome ten weeks, at the charge of fourscore thousand pounds a moneth, for the countenance of a Bill to eradicate Episcopacy, root and branch : when such licence is given to Brownists, Anabaptists, Sectaries, and whilst Coachmen, Feltmakers, and such Mechanick persons are allowed, and entertained to preach by those who thinke themselves the principall Members of either House ; when such barbarous out-rages in Churches, and heathenish irreverence and uprores, even in the time of Divine Service, and the Administration of the blessed Sacrament, are practised without controul, when the blessed means of advancing Religion, the Preaching of the Word of God, is turned into a Licence of libelling, and reviling both Church and State, and venting such seditious positions, as by the Laws of the Land are no lesse then Treason, and scarce a man in reputation and credit with these Grand Reformers, who is not notoriously guilty of this ; whilst those Learned, Reverend, painfull, and pious Preachers, who have bin & are the most eminent and able assertors of the Protestant Religion, are (to the inspeakable joy of the Adversaries to Our Religion) disregarded and oppressed ; Lastly, when for the settling & com-

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posing all these distractions and distempers, in stead of a free and generall Synod of grave and learned Divines, which hath been so much talked of (and to whose deliberations We were and are willing to commit the consideration of those Affairs) a Conference is desired with particular men nominated by themselves, contrary to the Rights and Practice of the Church, the Major part of whom (though Wee confesse there are many reverend, learned, and pious persons amongst them) are not of learning and understanding futable to so great a work, are of knowne avowed disaffection to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, and of those who have preached seditiously, and treasonably, against Our Person and Authority, as Doctor *Downing* and others. Who ever from his soul desires a true examination and Reformation in Religion cannot expect it from the results of these mens counsels, nor think the true service of God is like to be advanced or preserved by such practises: And all sober men must look with strange horror and indignation upon the last Declaration of the Lords and Commons, which after such unprecedented outrages and violences against Us, publishes the ground of their taking up defensive Arms (as they call them) to be, for the maintenance of the true Religion; the taking and keeping of *Hull*, Our Navy, Our Money, and Goods, the exercising of the *Militia*, and all the other injuries We complain of, to be for the maintenance of Religion: but whosoever believes them to be for the preservation of Our Person, may believe the other too. Would men enjoy the Laws they were born to, the Liberty and Property which makes the subjection of this Nation famous and honourable with all neighbouring Kingdoms? Wee have done Our part to make a wall of brasse for the perpetuall defence of them, whilst these ill men usurp a power to undermine that wall, & to shake foundations, which cannot be pulled down but to the confusion of Law, Liberty, Property, and the very Life and Being of Our Subjects? Is the Dignity, Priviledge and Freedom of Parliaments, (Parliaments whose wisdom and gravity have prepared so many wholesome Laws, and whose freedom distinguishes the condition of Our Subjects from those of any Monarchy in *Europe*) precious unto Our People? Where was that Freedom and that Priviledge when the House of Commons presumed to make Laws without the House of Peers, as they did in their Vote upon the Protestation, and of the ninth of *September*, when the House of Commons and the House of Peers presumed to make Laws without Our consent, as they have done in the businessse of the *Militia*, of *Hull*, in the behalfe of their Champion Serjeant Major Generall *Skippon*, of the Earle of *Warwick*, of their new Generall the Earle of *Essex* (with whom they will live and die) and many other Cases? Where was that Freedom and priviledge when Alderman *Pennington* and Captaine *Venne*, brought downe their *Myrmidons* to assault and terrifie the Members of both Houses, whose faces or whose opinions they liked not, and by that Army to awe the Parliament; when those rude multitudes published the names of the Members of both Houses, as enemies to the Common-wealth, who would not agree to their frantick propositions; when the names of those were given by Members of the House, that they might be proscribed, & torn in pieces by those Multitudes, when many were driven away for fear of their lives from being present at those consultations, and when Master *Hollis* required the names of those Lords who would not agree with the House of Commons? Lastly, where was that freedom and priviledge of Parliament, when Members of the one House had beene questioned for words spoken in the House, and one freed, the other but reprehended by vote of the Major part, were again questioned by the other House, and a charge brought against them for those words? Is Honour, Reputation, Freedom and Civility to be esteemed? What causelesse Defamations have byn raised and entertained upon Persons of quality

and unblemished estimation, upon no grounds or appearance of reason, but because their opinions ran not with the Torrent? what careſſes have bin & are made to perſons looſe, vitious, and debauched, of no virtue, no Religion, no reputation but of malice and ingratitude to Us? their names will be eaſily found out, by all mens obſervation & their own bluſhes, though they ſhall not have the Honour of Our mention. How have the Laws of Hoſpitality and Civility bin violated, the freedom and liberty of Converſation (the pleaſure and delight of life) bin invaded by them? the diſcourſes at Tables, whiſpers in Gardens and walks examined, and of perſons, under no accuſation; Letters broken up, (Our own to Our deareſt Conſort the Queen, not ſpared) read publickly, and commented upon, with ſuch circumſtances as makes *Chriſtendome* laugh at Our follies, and abhor Our correſpondence: Is peace and tranquillity dear to Our Subjects? To ſhew that We have left no way to that (not deſtructive to Honour and Juſtice) unattempted, Wee offered to lay downe Our Arms upon no other Reparations for all the Indignities multiplied upon Us, then, theſe, that they ſhould lay down theirs ſo unjuſtifiably taken, and We have Our own Town, goods and Navy (taken and kept by violence from Us) to be peaceably reſtored, to Us, and the power of making Laws without Us by the way of Ordinances (which implies a power by Ordinance to depoſe Us) & that in particular concerning the *Militia*, to be diſavowed and a ſafe place to be agreed on, where We might be preſent with Our great Councell, for the compoſing of all miſunderſtandings, and making this Kingdom happy: which offers not onely were not accepted, but not ſo much as any Answer directed immediatly to Us; ſomewhat onely ſent down by their under clerk, which with their firſt Petition and Our Answer (We are much pleaſed to heare) are ordered to be printed and read in all Churches, (Wee deſire no better evidence then Our and their writings and actions, and no better Judges and Witneſſes then Our people of Our love to peace) and even before this kinde of Answer came to Us, whileſt we with patience and hope, expecting ſuch a return as We deſired, forbore any action or attempt of force, according to Our promiſe, Sir *John Hatham* ſallyed out in the night, and murdered the perſons of his fellow-ſubjects, and ever ſince in this quarrell they labour to encrease their Army, (the very levy of which is Treason) and are ready to march with it againſt Us. Let all the World judge, who are the lovers of Peace. Laſtly, is the Conſtitution of the Kingdom to be preſerved and Monarchy it ſelf upheld? can any thing be more evident then that the end of theſe men is or the concluſion which muſt attend their premiſſes muſt be, to introduce a parity and confuſion of all degrees & conditions? are not ſeverall books and papers (ſuch as the *Obſervations upon parts of Our Meſſages*) published by their direction, at leſt under their countenance, againſt Monarchy it ſelf? Is it poſſible for Us to be made vile, and contemptible, and ſhall Our good Subjects continue as they are? Can Our juſt power be taken from Us, and ſhall they enjoy their liberty? VVhoſoever is a friend to the conſtitution of the Kingdom, muſt be an enemy to theſe men.

How the benefit, advantages, and hopes of the Kingdome have bin and are advanced and promoted by theſe men all good men ſee and diſcern. Let Us conſider now whether all thoſe grievances and preſſures which Our Subjects have heretofore ſuffered under, and of which Our Juſtice and favour hath eaſed them, be not by the Faction and Tyranny of theſe men redoubled upon Our People. Were the conſciences of men grieved and ſcandalized at the too much Formality and Circumſtances uſed in the exerciſe of Religion, and are they not equally concerned in the uncomelineſſe, irreverence, and profaneſſe now avowed to the diſhonour of Chriſtianity? were they troubled to ſee the Pulpit ſometimes made a Bar to plead againſt the Liberty and property of the Subject, and are they not more confounded to ſee it ſo generally made a Scaffold to in-

cite the people to Rebellion and Sedition against Vs? Have Our people suffered under, and been oppressed by the exercise of an Arbitrary power, and out of a sense of those sufferings have We consented to take away the *Starre-chamber*, the *High Commission-Courts*, to regulate the *Council-Table*, and to apply any Remedies have been proposed to Vs for that disease? and have not these men doubled those pressures, in the latitude and unlimitednesse of their proceeding, in their Orders for the observation of the Law as they pretend, and their punishing men for not obeying those Orders in a way and degree the Law doth not prescribe; in their sending for Our good Subjects upon generall Informations without prooff, and for offences which the Law takes no notice of; in declaring men enemies to the Common-wealth, fining and imprisoning them, for doing or not doing that, which no knowne Law injoynes or condemnes? Were the Pursivants of the *Council-Table*, the delay and attendance there, or at the *High-Commission-Court*, the judgements and decrees of the *Starre-Chamber*, more grievous, grievous to more persons, more chargeable, more intolerable, then the Serjeants and Officers Fees, the attendance upon the Houses, and upon Committees, or then the Votes and Judgements which have lately passed in one or both Houses?

Let all the Decrees, Sentences and Judgements of the *High-Commission Court* and *Star-Chamber* be examined, and any found so unjust, so illegal, as the proceedings against the Gentlemen of *Kent*, for preparing and presenting a Petition agreeable in forme and matter to all the rules of Law and Justice, by which men are to be informed to ask any thing; as the judgement against *M. Bynion*, that he should be disfranchised, be incapable of ever bearing Office in the Common-wealth, imprisoned in the Goal of *Colchester* for the space of two years, & to pay three thousand pound fine, nothing being charged and proved against him, that any Law or reason could tell him that he was not to do: though the sentences in the other Courts were in some Cases too severe, and exceeded the measure of the offence, there was still an offence, somewhat done that in truth was a crime; but here Declarations, Votes, and Judgements passe upon Our people, for matters not suspected to be crimes till they are punished. And have such proceedings ever been before this Parliament? If Monopolies have been granted, to the prejudice of Our people, the Calamity will not be lesse, if it be exercised by a good Lord, by a Bill, then it was before by a Pattent. And yet the Earl of *Warwick* thinks fit to require the Letter-office to be confirmed to him for three lives, at the same time that 'tis complained of as a Monopoly, and without the alteration of any circumstance, for the ease of the Subject; and this with so much greedinesse and authority, that whilst it was complained of as a Monopoly, he procured an Assignement to be made of it to him from the person complained of, after he had by his interest stopped the proceedings of the Committee for the space of five moneths, before that Assignement made to him, upon pretence that he was concerned in it, and desired to be heard: of such Sovereigne Power was his name, as if it could be no longer a grievance to Our People, if it might prove an advantage to him. A President very likely to be followed in many Monopolies if they may be assigned to principall Members, or their friends, witnesse the connivence now given to *Sir John Meldrum* for his Lights, since his undertaking their service at *Hull*. Have partiality and corruption in Judges obstructed the course of Justice? was there ever such partiality and corruption, when their fellow-Members of either House are by them importuned and solicited for their Votes in Causes before them, and no other measure or rule to the Justice of that Faction then the opinions of the persons contending? what summes of money have been given to, and what contracts have been made with some Members of either House who are of this powerfull Faction We complain of, for preserving this man from being questioned, and promoting

ing an Accusation against that man, for managing such a cause, and procuring such an Order, We are very well able to give particular information; which We shall willingly, do, when there may be such a sober and secure debate as becomes the dignity and freedome of Parliament, and the witnesses, now within their reach, may neither be awed, nor tampered with, before triall; for how little care there is taken for discoveries of this nature, appears by that which (upon a complaint of a slander against Mr. *Pim*) was justified, and the Author averred against him, for taking Thirty Pound Bribe to preserve a Papist from Legall prosecution, which hath been so long suffered to sleep at a Committee,

Our case is truly stated, so truly, that there is scarce any particular urged or alledged by Vs which is not known to many, and the most to all men: And must Our Condition be now irreparable? are the injuries committed against Vs and the Law justifiable? and must We be censured for using all possible means to be freed from them, or to be repaired for them, because they seem to carrie the consent and authoritie of both Our Houses of Parliament? There is not a particular of which We complain, that found not eminent opposition in both Houses, and yet for the most part not above a Moitie of either house present. The Order of the 5. of September (an Order to suspend the execution of Laws in force) passed, when there were not above eightie Commoners (of which many dissented) and but twentie Lords, whereof eleven (the major part) expressly contradicted it: The first unreasonable Remonstrance (the fountaine from whence all the present mischiefs haue flowed) was carried but by eleven Voyces after 15 houres sitting, when above 200 were absent, and was never approved by the Lords: The businesse of the *Militia* was at least twice rejected by double their number in the House of Peers, who consented to it, there being no popish Lord present, and twelve Bishops in the Tower; and yet this proposed again, the House being made thin of those Lords who had formerly opposed it, who went out immolately (it being their usuall course to watch such opportunities to effect their businesse) after M. *Hollis* his threats, and then carried. The Declaration against Vs sent to *Newmarket* was carried but by one Voice in the House of Peers, and by a small number in the House of Commons: the justifying Sir *John Hotham* in his Act of High Treason, was opposed by many persons of great worth, though neither House had half its number: And We are very far from censuring all those persons who concurred in these or any other particulars; we believe very many of them stood not in so clear a light to discern the guilt, malice, ambition, or subtilty of their seducers; but if in truth there were a consent intirely in both Houses of Parliament (as We are most assured there will never be) to alter the whole frame of Government, must we submit to those Resolutions and must not Our Subjects help and assist Vs in the defence of Laws and Government established, because they do not like them? Did We intend when Vs called them to that great Council, or did Our Subjects intend when they sent them thither in their behalfs, that they should alter the whole frame of Government, according to their own fancies and ambition, and possesse those places during their lives? What Our opinion and resolution is concerning Parliaments, We have fully expressed in Our Declarations; We have said, and will still say, they are so essentiall a part of the Constitution of this Kingdome, that We can attain to no happiness without them, nor will We ever make the least attempt (in Our thought) against them. We well know that Our Selfe and Our two Houses make up the Parliament, and that Wee are like *Hippocrates* Twins, We must laugh and crie, live and die together, that no man can be a friend to the one, and an enemy to the other; the injustice, injurie and violence offered to Parliaments, is that which We principally complaine of; And we againe assure all Our good Subjects in the presence of Almighty God, that all the Acts passed by Vs
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this Parliament shall be equally observed by Vs, as we desire those to bee which doe most concerne Our Rights. Our Quarrell is not against the Parliament but against particular men, who first made the wounds, and will not now suffer them to be healed, but make them deeper, and wider, by contriving, fostering, and fomenting mistakes and jealousies betwixt body and head, Vs and Our two houses of Parliament, whom We name, and are ready to prove them guilty of High Treason: We desire that the Lord Kimbolton, M. Pollis, M. Pim, M. Hampden, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, M. Strode, M. Martin, Sir Henry Ludlow, Alderman Pennington and Captain Venne, may be delivered into the hands of Justice, to be tryed by their Peers, according to the known Lawes of the Land: If We doe not prove them guilty of High Treason, they will be acquitted, and Innocence will justly triumph over Vs. Against the Earle of Warwick, the Earle of Essex, Earle of Stanford, Lord Brooke, Sir John Hotham, Serjeant Major General Skippon, and those who shall henceforth exercise the Militia by vertue of the Ordinance, We shall cause Indictments to be drawne of High Treason upon the Statute of the 25. yeare of King Edward the third; Let them submit to their triall appointed by Law, and plead their Ordinances; if they shall be acquitted, We have done. And that all Our loving Subjects may know, that in truth nothing but the Preservation of the true Protestant Religion, invaded by Brownisme, Anabaptisme, and Libertinisme, the safetie of Our Person threatened and conspired against by Rebellion and Treason, the Law of the Land and Libertie of the Subject oppressed and almost destroyed by an usurped, unlimited Arbitrary power, and the Freedome, Priviledge and Dignitie of Parliament awed and insulted upon by force and tumults, could make Vs put off Our long-lov'd Robe of Peace, and take up defensive Armes. We once more offer a free and a gracious pardon to all Our loving Subjects who shall desire the same (except the persons before named) and shall be as glad with safety and honour to lay downe these Armes, as of the greatest blessing We are capable of in this world. But if to justifie these Actions and these Persons, Our Subjects shall thinke for to engage themselves in a Warre against Vs, VVe must not looke upon it as an Act of our Parliament, but as a Rebellion against Vs and the Law in the behalfe of these men, and shall proceed for the suppressing it with the same Conscience and Courage, as VVe would meet an Army of Rebels, who endeavour to destroy both King and People; and VVe will never doubt to find honest men enough of Our minds.

F I N I S.

*The true Copy of the Petition prepared by the Officers of the Late Army, and
Subscribed by His MAJESTIE, with C.R.*

To the KINGs Most Excellent MAJESTIE, the Lords Spirituall, and Temporall, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses now Assembled in the High Court of Parliament.

The Humble Petition of the Officers, and Souldiers of the Army.

HUMBLY SHEVVETH,

THat although our wants have been very pressing, and the burthen wee are become unto these parts (by reason of those wants) very grievous unto us, yet so have we demeaned our selves, that Your Majesties great and weighty Affaires in this present Parliament, have hitherto received no interruption by any Complaint, either from us or against us: A temper not usual in Armies (especially in one destitute not onely of pay, but also of Martiall Discipline, and many of its principall Officers:) that we cannot but attribute it to a particular blessing of Almighty God, on our most hearty affection and zeale to the Common good in the happy successe of this Parliament, to which as we should have

been:

be enē ready hōurely to contribute our dearest bloud, so now that it hath pleased God to manifest his blessing so manifestly therein, We cannot but acknowledge it with thankfulness. We cannot but acknowledge his great Mercie in that hee hath inclined Your Majesties Royall heart to co-operate with the wisdom of the Parliament, as to effect so great and happy a Reformation, upon the former distempers of this Church and Common-wealth; as first in Your Majesties gracious condescending to the many important demands of our neighbours of the *Scottish Nation*: Secondly, in granting so free a course of Justice against all Delinquents, of what quality soever: Thirdly, in the removall of all those grievances wherewith the Subjects did conceive either their Liberty of Persons, Propriety of Estate, or Freedom of Conscience prejudiced: And lastly, in the greatest pledge of security that ever the Subjects of *England* received from their Sovereigne, the Bill of Trienniall Parliament. These things so graciously accorded unto by Your Majesty, without bargain or compensation, as they are more then expectation or hope could extend unto, so now certainly they are such as all loyall hearts ought to requiesce in with thankfulness, which We doe with all humility, and doe at this time with as much earnestnesse, as any, pray and wish, That the Kingdome may bee settled in peace and quietnesse, and that all men may, at their owne homes, enjoy the blessed fruits of your Wisdome and Justice. But may it please Your Excellent Majestie, and this High Court of Parliament, to give us leave, with griefe and anguish of heart, to represent unto You, that we heare that there are certain persons stirring and practicall, who instead of rendring glory to God, thanks to his Majestie, and acknowledgement to the Parliament, remaine yet as unsatisfied and mutinous as ever; who whilest all the rest of the Kingdome are arrived even beyond their wishes, are daily forging new and unreasonable demands: who whilest all men of Reason, Loyalty and Moderation, are thinking how they may provide for your Majesties Honour and Plenty, in returne of so many graces to the Subject, they are still attempting new Diminutions of Your Majesties just Regalities, which must ever be no lesse deare to all honest men, then our owne freedoms: In fine, men of such turbulent spirits, as are ready to sacrifice the honour and welfare of the whole Kingdome to their private fancies (whom nothing else then a subversion of the whole frame of Government will satisfie.) Far be it from our thoughts to beleieve, that the violence and unreasonableness of such kind of persons can have any influence upon the Prudence and Justice of the Parliament. But that which begets the trouble and disquiet of our loyall hearts at this present, is, That we heare those ill-affectēd persons are backed in their violence by the Multitude, and the power of raising Tumults, that thousands flock at their call, and beset the Parliament (and *Whitehall* it selfe) not onely to the prejudice of that freedom which is necessary to great Counsell and Judicatories, but possibly to some Personall danger of Your Sacred Majestie and Peers. The vast consequence of these Persons Malignitie, and of the licentiousnesse of those multitudes that follow them considered, in most deep care and zealous affection for the safetie of Your Sacred Majestie and the Parliament, our humble Petition is, That in Your Wisdomes, you would bee pleased to remove such Dangers, by punishing the Ringleaders of these Tumults, that Your Majestie, and the Parliament may be secured from such insolencies hereafter: For the suppressing of which, in all humility we offer our selves to wait upon You (if you please) hoping we shall appeare as considerable in way of Defence to our gracious Sovereigne, the Parliament, our Religion, and the established Lawes of the Kingdome, as what number soever shall audaciously presume to violate them. So shall we by the wisdom of Your Majestie, and the Parliament, not onely bee vindicated from precedent Innovations, but be secured from the future, that are threatned, and likely to produce more dangerous effects then the former. And we shall pray, &c.

FINIS.